

Arts
under
glasnost

IN THESE TIMES

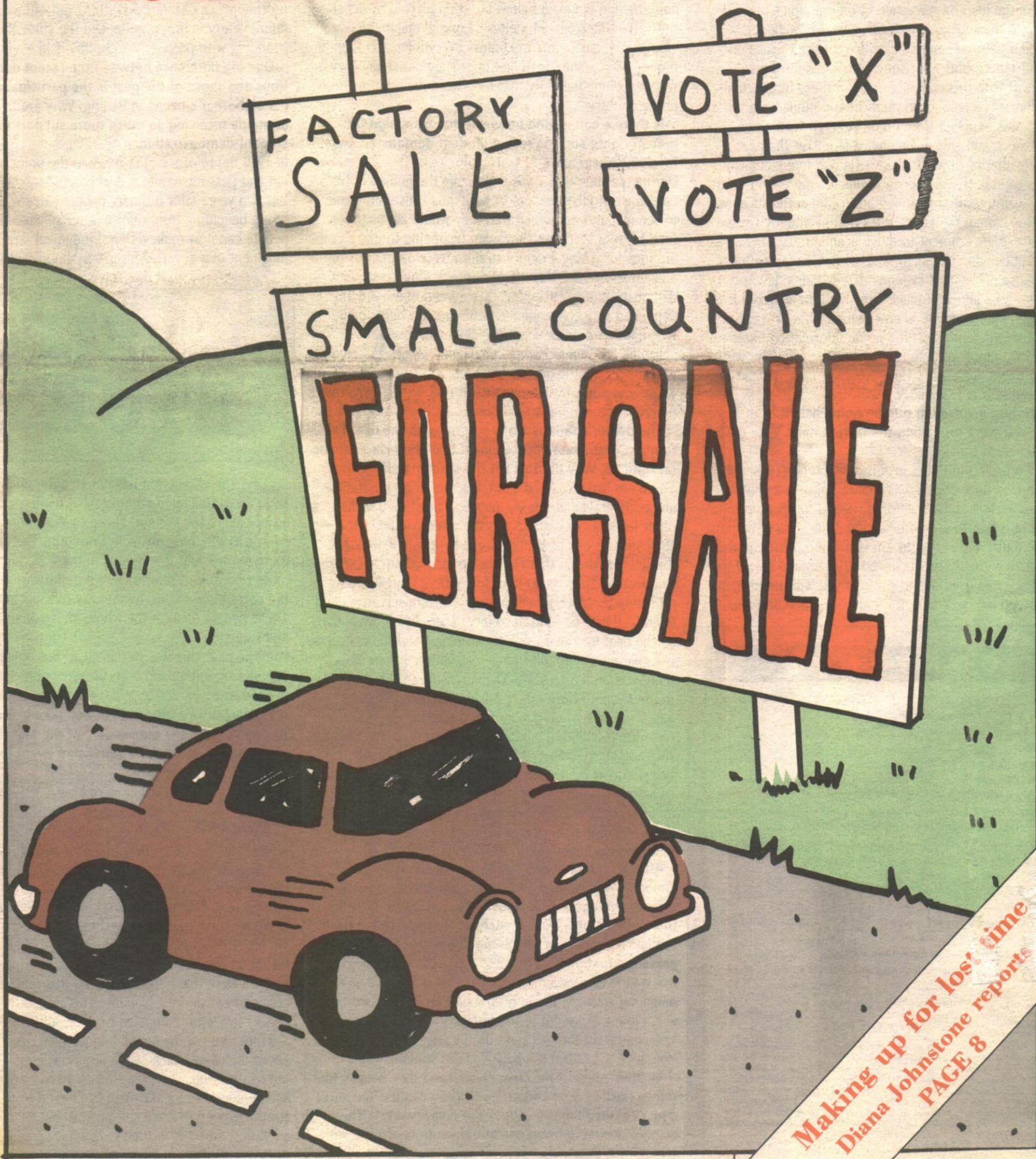
VOL. 13, NO. 24

MAY 10-16, 1989

\$1.25

PAGES 18,20,21

Hungary's REFORMATION



Making up for lost time
Diana Johnstone reports
PAGE 8

© 1989 Miles DeCoster

An inside view of China's unrest

By Alisa Joyce

NEW YORK

The Chinese have a strong sense of history and a long memory. This year they are celebrating some anniversaries of extraordinary events: 40 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, 70 years since the historic May 4th Movement that in many ways began the Revolution, and 10 years since Democracy Wall and the jailing of Wei Jingsheng. In 1979, while Deng Xiaoping was busy promoting the four modernizations to develop the country, a young worker named Wei Jingsheng wrote a poster declaring that China needed a fifth modernization—democracy. For his daring, Wei earned a prison term as a counterrevolutionary.

As China's students now take to the streets in immense numbers, shouting democracy's slogans, they are keenly aware of the historic relevance of their actions. In the buildup to these demonstrations, Chinese intellectuals initiated a petition campaign calling for the release of Wei and other political prisoners. As a result of his involvement with this campaign, one of these intellectuals, Chen Jun, a Shanghai-born political and human rights activist, was expelled from China in early April. Chen owned a bar and cafe in Beijing called "JJ's" that was a central gathering spot for the artists and intellectuals in China's capital. His role as an unofficial impresario of the Beijing avant-garde was an irritant to the authorities, but it was his human rights activities that eventually caused the Chinese government to move against him.

At 31, Chen Jun is a slight and excitable man with a good sense of Western fashion—baggy pants, tailored jacket—and a shock of black hair that jumps across his forehead as he talks. He is now living in New York with his British wife and is setting up an information office to maintain contact with student groups in China and with human rights activists in Hong Kong. *In These Times* interviewed him in Queens, N.Y.

By getting involved in human rights activities in China, you were provoking the government. Why did you take such a risk?

When I returned to China in June 1987, I didn't want to get involved in politics. I was sick of political activism that was all talk and no action. I wanted to open up a gallery or a bar, to start a new kind of lifestyle in Beijing. But the entire time I was in China the authorities harassed me. Finally I got angry. I believed that somebody had to stop this. I had tried not to get involved with politics, but they forced me back into it. If I am being accused and

hassled about being an activist, I might as well become active.

I made contact with [prominent dissident] Fang Lizhi. I wrote an open letter to the Chinese government calling for the release of political prisoners and got 33 prominent intellectuals to sign it. Then, as criticism of my activities began to appear in the Chinese newspapers, I set up an office called Amnesty '89 to maintain contacts with the foreign press and with Hong Kong Chinese groups, and I began to investigate the specific cases of political prisoners.

I wanted to be very specific about who they are, where they are, what they are accused of, so that the Chinese government could no longer deny the existence of political prisoners. This report was given to Hong Kong delegates of the National People's Congress in mid-March. From my knowledge of the Chinese law, this kind of activity should be protected. I was very careful about what I said and what I was doing.

It wasn't until I tried to return to Shanghai on April 1 that the government accused me of anything. The Public Security Bureau in Shanghai was holding my passport and arrested me even before the train arrived in the station. They interrogated me for 24 hours, making no charges but asking me to confess everything, and then put me on a plane for Hong Kong. They didn't say they were expelling me, only that they were "helping" me out of the country.

Is there a connection between that campaign for human rights and the recent student demonstrations for democracy?

During the time that I was organizing the human rights campaign, student leaders from Beijing University came to see me, and we agreed that they would act as protectors. Even at that time they were beginning to make preparations for a May 4 demonstration [celebrating the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, a major student demonstration in 1919], but they agreed that if anything happened as a consequence of the human rights campaign, they would organize big demonstrations.

I think the human rights campaign could have been used to relieve the pressure building up among the students in Beijing. If the government had agreed to release political prisoners, the students might have held back.

The demonstrations really started with the death of former Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang on April 15. Why did this set the students off?

There are three reasons. First, Hu Yaobang's reputation among liberals and intellectuals was much better than other leaders. Second, he was the direct victim of the 1986 student demonstrations. Third, the students knew through the media that Hu was just starting to re-emerge as a leader. There is an intense political struggle going on inside the government between the conservatives and liberals. [Party General Secretary] Zhao Ziyang was taking all the heat for the economic problems, and the conservatives were pushing for Zhao's resignation. In late March there was a picture of Hu Yaobang with Zhao published in the *People's Daily* [the principal Communist Party paper in China], and people heard that Hu was trying to raise the problem of educational reform in party meetings. Hu Yaobang re-emerged then, because Deng Xiaoping believed that he needed liberal support to counter the calls from conservatives that Zhao resign. So there was an awareness in Beijing of this struggle going on and of the political importance of Hu re-emerging. When he died, the students took to the streets.

After demonstrations for democracy in 1986, Hu Yaobang was purged and the conservatives unleashed a campaign against all kinds of liberalization. Why are the students now risking such a conservative backlash, the consequences of which may be worse than the present situation?

It is a kind of very subtle game—what we regard as a pingpong strategy. If you hit the ball inside, you won't win a point. If you hit it off the table, you lose the point. You should hit the ball right on the edge of the table. You have to control the balance. The students want to show their support for Zhao Ziyang, and they believe that if they push up to a certain level, Zhao can use the student demonstrations to attack the conservatives. They want to avoid confrontation and hope to cooperate with the liberals in the government.

A demonstrating student was quoted in the newspapers as saying, "I don't know exactly what democracy is, but I know we need more of it." Do you believe student leaders are more aware now of what they are demanding from the government when they call for democracy?

I don't think their ideas about democracy are so clear. They are different from the older generation of students, because the younger students were raised in a much less politicized atmosphere. Their education has little to do with Communist ideology, so their ideas about democracy and freedom of speech come largely from foreign influences. Their ideas are based on comparison.

They are specific about some things, though. They want to establish their own independent student unions; that is part of freedom of speech. They have learned things from previous demonstrations. They now realize that democracy is comprised of a whole set of specific freedoms, that it's not one big freedom. They know that it will take time to learn about democracy. They want freedom of speech, because they want to change the atmosphere of society. They can be criticized that they have no concrete ideas, but everything put out by the Communist Party is propaganda, and the students are responding with propaganda. So this is like a battle.

One big difference between the recent demonstrations and those of the past is the participation of workers and other citizens in Beijing. Why are these demonstrations receiving so much more support than past student demonstrations?

In 1986 the reform hadn't reached the point where workers and peasants could see whether it was good or bad. But two years later ordinary people can see that the only group benefiting from reform is the officials. Ordinary people can now make a moral judgment, and this moral judgment of a government is very important in Chinese

INSIDE STORY

history. The corruption has reached the point where almost every official, no matter what his level, is taking advantage of the system. Those officials are seen by the people as the main obstacle to reform. The masses want more reform, and the liberals in the government want more reform. But reform cannot go forward because of the corruption and uselessness of officials in the middle. These people damage the whole image of government and society.

In the past, this was not as clear. But now people are very disappointed, and you can see and feel it everywhere.

Last week an estimated 200,000 people marched in Beijing to mark the anniversary of the May 4th Movement. Why is this such a significant event for students and intellectuals in China?

[The student demonstrations of May 4, 1919] were the most glorious time in the history of intellectuals in China. This was the first time they came out to say what they wanted, the first time they played a strong role in modern politics. They started this revolution. They overturned the warlord system and started both the Guomindang [the Chinese Nationalist Party] and the Communist Party.

We all know that compared to the students of the May 4th Movement, we have been backward. That makes us feel guilty. In early 1989 we looked around and discovered that we were totally powerless, so this time we made a commitment to do something. This is also the reasoning behind the letter campaign [to free political prisoners].

At the time of the May 4th Movement, they were talking about the same things we talk of now: education and political reform. Then the slogans were calling for science and democracy, but now you can't even bring up the word "democracy." We still want it, but we now don't even dare say it. It is time to bring it up again.

Alisa Joyce writes frequently about Chinese affairs.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: A firsthand look at unrest in China	2
Japanese fighter plane flies into Washington dogfight	3
In Short	4
Digging into the miners' strike	6
Central Park attack—rape and race	7
Hungary reformation—making up for lost time	8
Namibia—what the U.S. media left out	10
Pain forest—development vs. preservation in Brazil	11
Editorial	14
Letters/Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: The U.N.'s deadly mistakes in Namibia	16
Ashes & Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn	17
In Print: Ardis—from Russia with lit	18
Naipaul swerves through the South	19
All Consuming Images	19
In the Arts: Soviet theater's glasnost gusto	20
Documentaries flourish in the Moscow spring	21
Classifieds Life in Hell	23
G.I. Joe at 25—a shrinking violent	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1989 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 13, No. 24) published May 10, 1989, for newsstand sales May 10-16, 1989.

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS are veering toward a showdown over U.S. policy toward Japan. On April 28 President George Bush announced a deal with Japan to develop a new "FSX" fighter plane. General Dynamics will help Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Ltd., develop and produce 130 planes.

In the wake of the deal, both Democrats and Republicans in Congress are accusing the Bush administration of providing Japan with the means to undermine American supremacy in aerospace production. "We're entering into an agreement with a country that has made it a prime industrial policy to shut down American industries," said Sen. Alan Dixon (D-IL), a leader of the FSX opposition. Meanwhile, administration backers in Congress contend that the deal strengthens American military ties with Japan without jeopardizing the aerospace industry.

At issue here is the U.S. relationship with Japan, which has been characterized in recent years by close military and geopolitical cooperation and by growing economic conflict. Pentagon and State Department officials have consistently argued that military considerations come first. "Trade should not drive defense," former Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci told a Senate committee last year. Former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger wrote in *Forbes* last March, "It would be foolish and dangerous to weaken the military alliance we have simply because we have justified trade disputes with Japan."

But with the Cold War thawing and the trade deficit growing, an increasing number of politicians and public officials believe that the government must place economic, not military, security first.

At issue also is a key American export industry. The \$117-billion aerospace industry exported \$26.9 billion and accounted for a \$17.7-billion net surplus in trade in 1988, more than any other industry. If the aerospace industry is relegated to the same dustbin as the consumer electronics industry, then the U.S.' trading status will resemble that of a developing nation, exporting raw materials in order to import manufactured goods.

Buy American: The origins of the FSX deal go back to 1981, when Japan agreed to increase its military role in the Pacific by policing its sea lanes 1,000 miles from shore. To accomplish this, Japan announced plans to build a new fighter aircraft comparable to the American F-16 fighter. At first Pentagon officials were unsuccessful in pressuring the Japanese to develop and produce the new plane jointly with American companies. But that changed in 1986 when American intelligence discovered that Japan's Toshiba company and a Norwegian company had secretly sold advanced submarine propellers to the Soviet Union. In the wake of the scandal, Japan agreed to co-develop the FSX with American firms. A final agreement was reached in December 1988.

But unexpected congressional protest in January forced Bush to agree to review the agreement. Under prodding from Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher, Bush won several new concessions from the Japanese, including an agreement to share production as well as development with American firms, and went ahead and signed the new agreement.

FSX deal: is it a fire sale or 'Japanphobia'?

Yet FSX opponents are still not satisfied. Bush's agreement removes the threat of Japan acquiring the source code for some advanced electronic equipment, but Japan would still be able to gain all-important knowledge of the "systems integration" required to build advanced aircraft.

Key concessions were also framed in vague terms—Japan promised that American firms would gain "about 40 percent" of production—and appended to the agreement in the form of letters. Former Commerce Department official Clyde Prestowitz, an opponent of the deal, commented, "Side letters aren't worth the paper they're printed on."

Congressional opponents argued that by buying F-16s off the shelf, Japan could have saved itself billions of dollars and reduced its enormous trade surplus with the U.S. "If the Japanese are really serious about addressing our bilateral trade imbalance, common sense dictates that they buy our plane," said Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-MO), who is leading the anti-FSX battle in the House.

The deal's backers counter that if the U.S. turns down the co-development plan and insists that Japan buy American, Japan will turn to European manufacturers, and the U.S. will lose all income from the deal. This argument was made by Dov S. Zakheim, former deputy undersecretary of defense, in a March 31 *New York Times* op-ed piece. "Washington confronts the same issue it always faces when considering a controversial military sale overseas," he wrote. "Should it go ahead with a less-than-perfect arrangement or just wash its hands of the entire affair, letting the Europeans step in?"

Mercantilist strategy: Like many controversies in Congress, this one is as much about symbols as about reality. If the U.S. had reached a similar co-production deal with Belgium, France or Great Britain, few in Congress would have worried, and many would have praised the agreement for preserving American jobs. But the critics of the FSX agreement view it within the tortured history of U.S.-Japan economic relations, where Japan has used co-development agreements as a first step toward eventually dominating not only an industry, but the entire range of advanced manufacturing, from consumer electronics to automobiles. They con-

tend that such a mercantilist strategy will eventually destroy not only American industry, but world trade itself.

James Fallows made his point in a May *Atlantic Monthly* article. American conflict with Japan "arises from Japan's unwillingness to restrain the one-sided and destructive expansion of its economic power," he wrote. "By continuing to launch new industrial assaults rather than simply buying better, cheaper products from abroad, Japan suggests that it does not accept the basic reciprocal logic of world trade. If more than a handful of countries behaved this way, there couldn't be any international trade."

Fallows, Gephardt and other critics see the FSX deal as yet another example of Japanese resistance to American imports. "Japan's military-aircraft policy represents a straightforward attempt to move into the

This policy controversy is as much about symbols as it is about reality.

commercial aircraft industry, which Boeing, Airbus and McDonnell Douglas now dominate," Fallows wrote. "If this were not the case, Japan's military would simply buy imported planes, rather than insisting that its planes be manufactured in Japan, under license, at much higher cost."

The critics are undoubtedly right on this score. The FSX might not be the best issue on which to take a stand—Pentagon officials might be correct in arguing that if the U.S. balks, Japan will simply go to the Europeans. But at some point in the near future the U.S. must take a position against Japan's commercial strategy.

Industrial policy: There's a danger that the FSX debate may obscure the cause of the trade deficit. The U.S. has lost markets not only because of Japanese commercial ruthlessness, but because American firms, left to their own devices, have been unwilling to invest in America's industrial future. This is happening in the aerospace industry and could pose a much greater danger than the FSX agreement.

According to a report in the *Far Eastern*

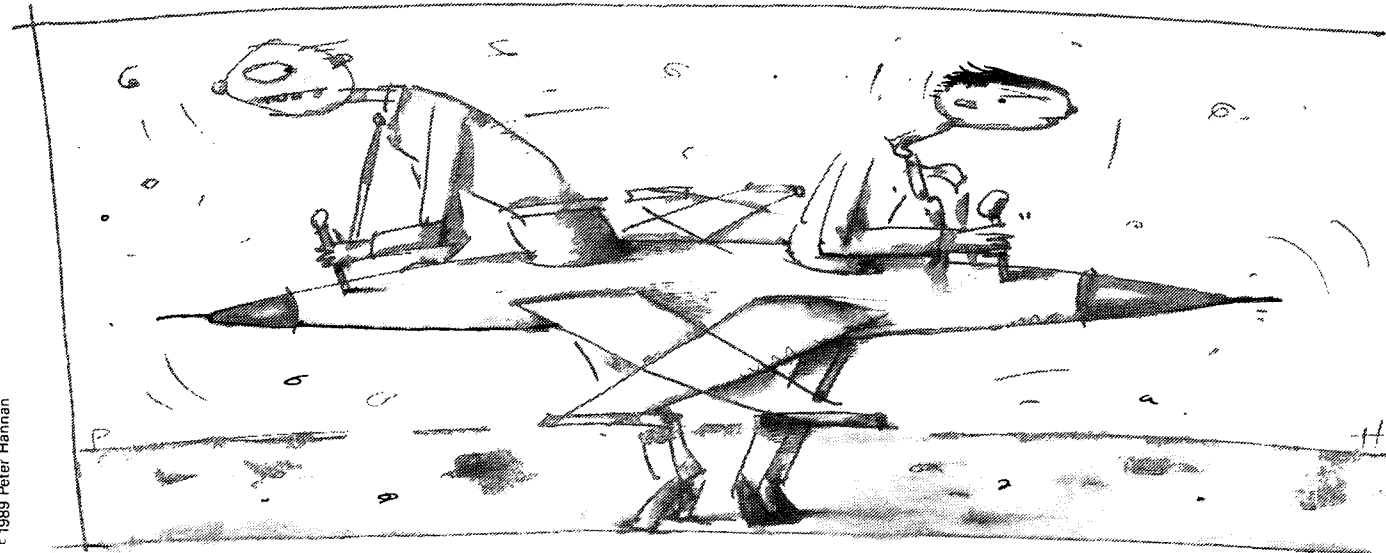
Economic Review, Japanese companies, backed by the government economic agency MITI, have gone ahead of American firms in producing the special materials that will be needed for a new generation of supersonic aircraft and for hypersonic spacecraft. "U.S. companies are by and large unwilling or unable to make the investment necessary," the *Review* writes. "When the Pentagon recently called on companies worldwide to contribute samples of new materials for a space plane, not one of the primary metal producers in the U.S. responded, whereas Japanese companies submitted high-quality samples in a matter of weeks." As a result, "the U.S. could face a much-enhanced Japanese challenge, initially in the materials and components sector, but ultimately to its entire aerospace industry."

Some Senate and House members like Gephardt or Rep. Don Ritter (R-PA) understand that the U.S. cannot eliminate the trade deficit simply by pressuring the Japanese to open markets. The U.S., they recognize, has to change the relationship between government and industry and the way that private industry makes investment decisions.

Congress acts: If Congress wants to reject the FSX deal, it has 30 days from the time that Bush formally submits its terms to the House and Senate to do so. If Congress rejects it, Bush can still exercise a veto, forcing the House and Senate to assemble two-thirds majorities against the deal. FSX opponents will probably not be able to marshal enough votes to override a veto, but they should be able to create a nasty fracas with the administration.

Congressional opposition to the FSX has cut across party and ideological lines. Dixon and Gephardt are being joined by moderates like Sen. Al D'Amato (R-NY) and Sen. John Shelby (D-AL) and by die-hard conservatives like Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA). This opposition draws on a certain amount of anti-Japan xenophobia, but it could also foreshadow a realignment of American politics along the lines of economic nationalism and industrial policy.

As evidenced by Bush's willingness to review the Reagan administration's prior agreement, the president is clearly worried about the political ramifications of this issue. Pollsters who have conducted recent focus groups in the Midwest have discovered that voters see the Japanese economic challenge as the number-one political issue in the country. This underscores Bush's Japan dilemma: he could prevail in Congress but lose elections for the Republicans in 1990 and for himself in 1992. □



© 1989 Peter Hannan

By Joel Bleifuss

What a squawk

Italy's member of parliament and porn star Ilona Staller ruffled a few leathers recently in Kiskunhalas, Hungary, when she helped send off 31 Soviet tanks that were leaving the country as part of Gorbachov's promised withdrawal of troops from Eastern Europe. According to the *New York Times's* Henry Kamm, Col. Boris Y. Adamenko, who was overseeing the Soviet withdrawal, did not seem to mind when the Hungary-born Radical Party legislator, wearing a garland of wilted white flowers, joined him on the podium. To the bewildered pleasure of the attending Red Army officers, while Adamenko officially announced the tanks' withdrawal, Staller mugged for the cameras. Then as the tanks began pulling out, Staller released a white dove. Fluttering to the ground, it then disappeared under the revolving treads of a departing tank.

Give it the old school die

"It's their turn to make some contribution to an institution that has benefited them," said Boston University President John Silber last month as he announced that the university has plans to take out life insurance policies on cooperative students. His scheme would work this way: a student who allows a \$5,500 policy to be taken out on him or her, upon his or her death—estimated by the university to be an annual rate of 1.7 deaths per 1,000—would yield the university \$350,000. Warren Binford of the Boston University student union is appalled. "I am haunted by the image of President Silber coldly calculating graduates' deaths on his adding machine," Warren said. "The frightening prospect is that an epidemic or deadly disaster would be seen as a good year financially for the university."

Gulp

Current federal regulations allow 66 carcinogenic pesticides to be part of the American diet. The U.S. Public Interest Research Group (U.S.PIRG) of Washington, D.C., wanted to discover how many of those substances could make their way into the average American diet, so it conducted an experiment. The group constructed three meals out of 15 common foods and then tallied how many of the 66 EPA-permitted carcinogenic pesticides could be found in those foods. The result? The three meals could contain 54 pesticides that have been found to cause cancer in animals or humans. What follows is U.S. PIRG's hypothetical pesticide menu. (Note: it is unlikely that residues from these carcinogenic pesticides would be found on the food all at once. The point is that if they were, it would be legal.)

Meal	Food	Number of permitted pesticides
Breakfast	pork sausage	24
	eggs	18
	whole-wheat toast	16
	orange marmalade	17
	orange juice	17
Lunch	milk	20
	chicken	17
	rice	7
	broccoli	11
	apple juice	24
Dinner	steak	26
	baked potato	17
	corn on the cob	25
	fruit cocktail with grapes and peaches	17, 21

VP update

During a recent party at the Belgian Embassy, Vice President Quayle listened as Rep. Claudine Schneider (R-RI) spoke fluent French. According to the *Provincetown Journal*, the impressed vice president remarked, "I was recently on a tour of Latin America, and the only regret I have was that I didn't study Latin harder in school so I could converse with those people." Back in Rhode Island, Schneider related the story to her friends, adding that she "prays for President Bush every day."



Abbie in Chicago: off to court in '68, promoting books in '88.

Eulogy to Abbie

Abbie Hoffman believed that if you don't like the news, go out and change it. And so it's ironic, as well as sad, that the news Abbie most recently tried to change didn't make as big of a splash as his death last month. He wanted the world to know about the other Iranian arms scandal—the alleged weapons-for-hostages swap between the Ayatollah Khomeini and the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign. Hoffman and journalist Jonathan Silvers (whose personal tribute follows) spent months investigating this tale of international betrayal for *Playboy* magazine, pursuing leads in Washington and the capitals of Europe, conducting interviews and annoying the powers-that-be with provocative questions.

Abbie thought that this was a story that could bring the Reagan empire to its knees. He had hoped to waylay the Bush campaign with his "October surprise": a 7,500-word exposé detailing circumstantial evidence of the deal. Before its publication last fall in *Playboy*, he predicted that the story would cost the Bush campaign enough votes to swing the election.

A past master at media hype, Hoffman misjudged this time. The main-

stream media, busy reporting Willie Horton, flag-waving, personalities and other staged campaign pap, ignored what may eventually prove to be one of the greatest political stories ever untold. But it was a labyrinthine tale that couldn't be boiled down to 10-second sound bites. Besides, the mainstream media had lost whatever zeal it once had for uncovering lapses in political, rather than personal, morality.

Though no professional journalist, Abbie remained true to that profession's one-time mission to afflict the comfortable and comfort the afflicted. In fact, Abbie was not really professional at anything—except agitation. Nobody did it better.

Some leftists thought Abbie was short on practical, long-term politics. They accused him of preferring comic gestures to the chores of organizing a movement. Yet he knew, better than his critics, that clowns don't change the world. Abbie saw himself as an animator, someone who could stir things up and get them cooking.

He also knew the importance of organizing. "What you need for social change is enough people, not a majority," he said on Nov. 23, 1986, a week before his 50th birthday. "You

never have a majority except for maybe the last 10 minutes of the revolution. Social change is hard work. You're going against the grain, against everything you've been taught. It's lonely."

He put his hopes on the emergence of a new student movement. "The wheel of history is turning," he told *In These Times*. "How long can people live with the culture of designer brains? My experience with the '50s says not too long. It will take a combination of boredom, curiosity and altruism. And when I go around campuses, students have stopped asking questions about how the '60s ended; they want to know how they started. Kids ask me how SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] began. I ask them what's the best bar in town, and we're off." (See *In These Times*, Jan. 14, 1987.)

But Abbie acknowledged the difficulties of organizing in the '80s. In November 1986, he, Amy Carter and other students got arrested for protesting CIA recruiting at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. As he told students at the time, "In the '60s people were shot. Now you have different types of risks. We had affluence and could drop out. Economically, you're taking a bigger risk

today. You're going to have to create a counterculture. We had yuppies in the '50s. But I see real despair now. The Bomb will go off any minute. We're all going to get AIDS. The polar ice cap is going to melt. In the '60s we only cared about one thing—justice."

Over the last few years Abbie helped bring a range of issues to public consciousness. In the '80s he made much-publicized trips to Nicaragua. As he told *In These Times*, "I'm a supporter of the Sandinistas. They make mistakes, but mistakes of the heart. Even under the conditions of war, this is still the most humane revolution in history."

Abbie fought environmental battles for the St. Lawrence River in upstate New York, where he had spent his fugitive days, and at the Point Pleasant Pumping Station in Bucks

County, Pa. Before his death, he was figuring out an appropriate Exxon payback for the Valdez, Alaska, disaster.

Many Americans thought of Abbie as a sloganeering clown from a bygone era of love, dope and do. He was a prankster, but a prankster with purpose. Who could forget when Abbie and Jerry Rubin led a band of hippie philanthropists to the balcony of the New York Stock Exchange and showered dollar bills down on the truly greedy below? Abbie et al. wanted to show that these dignified Wall Street pinstripers, who crawled over each other grabbing up dollars, would do anything for a buck. That was a time before Boesky, Miliken and Lorenzo, when the pretense was still maintained that capitalism was the way to raise the living standards of all

rather than a hustle for high rollers.

Abbie and the Yippies gave the American left something it lacked—a sense of humor. He demonstrated time and again that dramatizing social ills and satirizing the attitudes and individuals that blocked their solution was politically effective—at least more effective than analyzing them into oblivion or striking out in self-defeating anger.

The sectarian ideologues who gained a bit of prominence as movement leaders in the late '60s and early '70s are now as forgotten as their politics. What we remember from those days are the victories of the peace and civil rights movements. And an antic spirit, embodied in Abbie, that told us that making a better world was a joyous proposition.

—Peter Karman and Jeff Reid

Dear Abbie

Sometime on the afternoon of April 12, 1989, Abbie Hoffman decided that he had had enough of this kinder and gentler America. He retreated to his Bucks County, Pa., farmhouse, crawled into bed and, having drunk the better part of a fifth, proceeded to consume an equally impressive quantity of phenobarbital. He was found dead at 8:15 that night. The medical examiner said that he died in his sleep, that he felt no pain.

Died in his sleep. Felt no pain.

Comforting words, given the circumstances. And though Abbie taught us to question authority, urged us to be skeptical of official pronouncements, I hope that just this once those who respected him will accept the M.E.'s verdict at face value. Life was struggle enough; it's reassuring to think that near its end he had a few moments' peace.

For the past several weeks I have been trying, at unsociable hours and in various frames of mind, to compose some sort of tribute to my friend and collaborator. And though my intentions are good and the sense of loss I feel is profound, I had managed to crank out only the most routine kind of copy, full of anecdotes and morals and obligatory lines about continuing his struggle.

Not that I should have expected to write anything more significant. Abbie was chaos personified, a welter of impulsive—and occasionally conflicting—actions and philosophies, by turns inventive and predictable, hopeful and despairing. Such personalities are not easily captured in a few hundred words. Abbie knew, better than anyone, that he defied pat descriptions. "They'll pull it off," he said of potential biographers, "but they won't get it right."

On the IRS form 1040, on the line which asks for "Your Occupation," Abbie would always write, "community organizer," the one label he found remotely acceptable. He thought of himself as a person—not a man; he tried valiantly to

make his language sexless—who could mobilize the alienated and lead the charge against complacency and injustice. He boasted, justifiably, that if he walked into a room full of discordant activists, he'd get them humming the same tune within an hour. Sometimes it took him two, sometimes ten, but he would send them home humming. Always.

Organizing was a vocation he came by naturally, first in rural Mississippi—where he and his fellow freedom marchers were beaten up by white supremacists—and later in the streets of '68 Chicago—where he and his fellow freedom marchers were beaten up by Mayor Daley's police. After a war had come and gone and a generation with different values appeared, he refined his skills. Through a process that can only be called alchemical, he transformed landed gentry in the Thousand Islands area and Bucks County into ardent environmentalists. In doing so he saved the St. Lawrence and Delaware rivers.

St. Lawrence and Delaware rivers.

But it wasn't his tactical skills that made Abbie famous. He was a jester in the kingdom of the absurd, a master at manipulating the media. He recognized the importance of image and sound bites long before such terms were fashionable. When the anti-war protesters converged on Chicago during the Democratic National Convention and were denied access to Grant and Lincoln parks, he hinted that there were "secret Yippie plans" to dump LSD into the city water supply—plans which, improbable though they were (one pharmacologist estimated that it would take several million gallons of acid to send the good people of Chicago on a mild hallucinogenic trip), forced the City Council to station troops around the reservoirs and pumping stations. Said Abbie, "We fight with laughter; they fight with guns."

He had, of course, a dark side. Abbie was diagnosed a manic-depressive in the early '80s and, like

many a manic-depressive before him, frequently "forgot" to take his lithium carbonate. And while his infrequent rages were terrifying, he came to regard the illness with something resembling equanimity. Last June, while hurtling us down Manhattan's Fifth Avenue in his Ford Escort, he remarked that, though manic episodes incapacitated him from time to time, they were also the source of his positive energy. "Without it, I'd probably have been just another traveling pharmacy-supply salesman...but one with a strong political orientation."

He experimented with drugs. In 1973 he sold cocaine to the feds, got busted and went on the lam. He turned himself in seven years later and served 11 months. Later he volunteered at the Harlem drug rehab center Veritas and helped them raise record amounts of money to set a few hundred underprivileged kids straight. "Ain't about nothing" became his anti-drug abuse anthem. He spoke as one who had been there, who endured the worst.

What else? In the kitchen he was Julia Child—a skill he picked up bebopping around Europe as a fugitive. He played tennis like a Czech; never mind the tonsure and paunch, his forehand was vengeance incarnate. He loved students and earned a modest living on the college circuit hectoring standing-room crowds. More often than not, most of his lecture fee (three or four grand a night) would find its way back to the student union sponsoring his visit. Or some campus activist group would find itself the happy recipient of a sizable anonymous donation. He struggled to remain contemporary, vital and active—and almost succeeded.

I won't speculate on his reason for suicide. I respect his decision, even if I don't approve of it. Suffice it to say this: Abbie made us laugh and made us think. At his best he could do both at once. I will miss him.

—Jonathan Silvers

Means to an end

The Islamic Penal Code of Iran stipulates: "In the punishment of stoning to death, the stones should not be so large that the person dies on being hit by one or two of them; they should not be so small either that they could not be defined as stones." According to Amnesty International, an eyewitness who claims to have been at a stoning described the event this way: "A lorry deposited a large number of stones and pebbles beside the waste ground, and then two women were led to the spot wearing white and with sacks over their heads.... [They] were enveloped in a shower of stones and transformed into two red sacks.... The wounded women fell to the ground and Revolutionary Guards smashed their heads in with a shovel to make sure they were dead." Of course, here in the civilized world the method is different but the result's the same.

The Okie from Okemah

Bart Webb, one of the 3,500 or so residents of Okemah, Okla., does not think much of hometown boy Woodie Guthrie. Although Guthrie has been dead for 22 years, Webb and a sizable number of other Okemahians will always remember him as the songwriter who wrote the communist anthem, "This Land is Your Land." (Ever notice how God is never mentioned?) According to Richard Phillips of the *Chicago Tribune*, Webb, a town undertaker, keeps posting signs that read "Woody Guthrie was no hero." And somebody else keeps tearing them down.



Scuzzy fuzzy

How do you get the public to have "warm fuzzy positive" feelings about a greedy multinational corporation? Hire a public relations firm. As "consumer marketing specialist" Richard Winger told the *Wall Street Journal's* Alix M. Freedman, if a company has a public image problem the best thing the good PR man "can do is to put a lot of warm fuzzy positive things on the other end of the scale so when the consumer weighs the two sides, at least they stay in balance." Take Nestlé, whose infant-formula marketing tactics have once again made the company the object of a consumer boycott. Freedman reports that in March Nestlé hired Ogilvy & Mather Public Relations to oversee boycott damage control. Within days the PR firm had drawn up an image enhancement scheme titled "Proactive Neutralization." Among its ideas, Ogilvy & Mather proposed to "inoculate" Nestlé's Los Angeles-based subsidiary, Carnation, against the effects of the boycott with a Carnation Image Campaign. According to "Proactive Neutralization," the public relations specialists considered and then rejected as "too negative" the idea of a Carnation Combats Cocaine campaign. A Carnation Literacy Library was also dismissed, because that issue is "a crowded do-good area due to Barbara Bush's involvement." In the end Ogilvy & Mather advised Nestlé to start a Carnation National Homework Help Line and to set up a fund for children and infants with AIDS. But the most provocative Ogilvy and Mather proposal was for Nestlé to hire spies to infiltrate the organizations sponsoring the Nestlé boycott. According to "Proactive Neutralization," the spies' mission would be "to initiate an early-warning system through which Nestlé gains awareness of actions being planned and is equipped to take appropriate proactive or reactive steps." As the *Wall Street Journal's* Freedman points out, Ogilvy and Mather's battle plan "gives a rare peek at how Madison Avenue tackles the nitty gritty details of image makeovers."

By David Moberg

STATE POLICE WHEELED INTO CLINTWOOD, Va., one day in mid-April, preparing to book three vanloads of striking coal miners they had arrested for blocking entrances to Pittston Company mines. They were stunned by the community's reaction.

"The radio was asking all businesses to shut down, and most of them did," reports Joe Lee Baker, founder of the local weekly, the *Cumberland Times*. People poured into the streets and high school students walked out of their classes, as the small town in southwestern Virginia nearly came to a halt in solidarity with the miners. On April 5 the miners had struck Pittston, the only major coal company that would not agree to a basic industry contract the union peacefully negotiated last year.

A couple of weeks later, on April 30, 10,000 people followed winding Appalachian roads to the remote Wise County fairgrounds for a rally featuring United Mineworkers (UMW) President Richard Trumka and Jesse Jackson.

"In 63 years of strikes, mine disasters and floods, I've never seen anything like this," Baker said. "People are madder than hell. People are getting madder by the hour."

Not going to take it anymore: The anger has built up since February 1988, when Pittston's contract with the UMW expired and the company abruptly cut off health benefits for 1,500 retired or disabled miners and widows. Rather than grab that strike bait, the union patiently negotiated while it pressured the company with a corporate campaign aimed at Pittston's lenders, directors, shareholders and customers. The UMW also employed a quiet effort by miners to follow work rules to the letter.

Union leaders had experienced the difficulty of striking during a time of high coal field unemployment in a four-year fight with the A.T. Massey local company. That bruising battled ended last fall without a clear winner: the company was splintered and the union was left with some inferior contracts.

In the Pittston dispute, union strategists realized they needed to use as many non-strike tactics as possible, to organize community support and to train miners in non-violent resistance. The pitched battles at Massey had left the union facing permanent injunctions restricting strike activity in parts of West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

But Pittston continued to press its demands for contract changes that union spokesman Joe Corcoran described as "taking a scalpel to the institutional glue" that holds union miners together. Pittston borrowed \$100 million from five banks—a strikebreaking fund, the union contends—and retained both the law firm and the private police force used by Massey.

The Mineworkers are convinced Pittston Chief Executive Officer Paul Douglas—"the Frank Lorenzo of the coal fields"—wants to break the union. Pittston is an old, established coal company, which until recently often led the industry consortium that has for decades negotiated a basic joint coal contract with the union. The company used much of its wealth from the coal boom in the '70s to buy unrelated enterprises—Brink's and Burlington Air Freight—that have performed poorly. The coal division, while still profitable, suffered from declining



Virginia state police remove a UMW striker from the entrance of a Carbo, Va., mine.

A community digs in with striking miners

coal prices in the early '80s and stiffer international competition in the sale of metallurgical-grade coal to the world's steel industry.

Since 1984, when Douglas and his new management team took over, the company has shifted coal reserves from its unionized divisions to a variety of non-union subsidiaries, including its Pyxis Resources Company, established in 1986. Many U.S. coal companies have established different corpo-

jointly controls the multiemployer fund.

Pittston also wants to reduce health coverage and refuses to reinstate coverage for retired miners. The union maintains that earlier industry contracts promised perpetual coverage. Pittston argues that its obligations ended when the contract expired and that an old trust fund, to which it no longer contributes, should pay for its retirees, thus shifting its burden to other coal companies.

In its basic coal contract negotiated with the industry last year, the UMW significantly reduced company payments into some older trust and pension funds, saving coal companies an estimated 14 percent in costs per ton. In exchange, the companies guaranteed that laid-off union members would have first rights at recall for jobs in other company divisions, even those that are non-union.

Pittston refuses to go along with the industrywide contract. The company refuses to provide the contract's job security or any "successorship" clause guaranteeing that the union contract accompanies any assets that are sold or transferred. "We don't see any reason why that should be done," Pittston's director of financial relations, William Byrne, said. "Is it necessary that everything be unionized?" The company also insists on unlimited rights to hire out work to subcontractors. In a further insult to union tradition and the culture of its Bible Belt coal fields, Pittston wants a free hand to schedule Sunday work.

Although long a central player in the coal industry, Pittston now claims it is "unique" and needs a unique contract. Approximately the 13th-biggest coal company, it is the No. 1 U.S. exporter, selling about half its coal overseas, mainly for steelmaking. But the UMW maintains that other companies with large export markets have signed the basic agreement.

Byrne argues that Pittston can increase sales only by cutting prices and costs. But prices and demand for metallurgical coal are now rising, and Pittston has increased productivity 72 percent over the past four years under a union contract. Nevertheless, he argues, "we're not competitive." Nonetheless, Pittston negotiators have repeatedly told the union that their demands are not driven by a need to cut costs or be competitive, undoubtedly in part because they do not want the union to have legal grounds to demand that the company open its books. They simply say they want more "flexibility."

Digging in: The 1,400 striking Mineworkers are fighting back with a campaign of "civil resistance," often peacefully blocking entrances until the hundreds of state police sent in by Virginia Gov. Gerald Baliles clear them away. Some picket-line clashes have erupted, provoked by strikebreakers, union miners insist. By early May nearly 1,200 arrests had been made. Another 300 union miners are not on strike, but no strikers have yet crossed the picket lines. Pittston employs 2,900 in its coal division, including an extraordinarily high number of supervisors. The company is now using them, along with an undetermined number of strikebreakers and its hired police, to try to run its mines.

But the strikers are not alone. A group of wives and women supporters, calling themselves "the daughters of Mother Jones," occupied Pittston's coal field headquarters in Lebanon, Va., for two days. Local officials have protested state police abuse of the strikers. And throughout Pittston's coal region, people are wearing camouflage as a symbol of solidarity, after miners began wearing similar camouflage outfits to confound the videotape surveillance of Pittston's hired police, the Asset Protection Team.

The UMW is pressuring Pittston's outside directors, as well as corporations where Pittston chief Douglas sits on the board of directors. It has launched a campaign to withdraw funds from Crestar, a Virginia-based bank that was one of the five to loan potential strikebreaking funds to Pittston. It has also fought acquisitions by Crestar and the Manufacturers Hanover Bank in conjunction with community groups who are protesting the bank's lending practices under Community Reinvestment Act provisions. This week the union plans to attend Pittston's annual meeting, where it has proposed three proxy resolutions.

Behind the union: It has been a hard decade for the Mineworkers, as its active membership was cut in half to less than 80,000 with slowly rising coal sales and rapidly increasing productivity. Despite splintering of the industrywide bargaining group, UMW President Trumka has managed to keep fairly uniform contracts, twice reached without industrywide strikes. But Pittston's demands would shatter much of what the union has managed to preserve or, in terms of job security, slightly improve.

Even many of those who are not union miners but who live in the coal fields realize how much their fate hinges on the union. "Everyone seems to be behind us and thinks what we're doing is not just for ourselves but for them, too," says Gail Gentry, a former Pittston miner disabled in a 1978 roof cave-in whose health benefits were cut off by the company last year. "Even non-union workers want us to win, or they'll have to go back to the old ways." □

LABOR

rate subsidiaries to avoid taxes and other liabilities, or they have tried to use subcontractors to avoid the Mineworkers. But UMW Research Director Michael Buckner says that Pittston is "setting up separate corporations and transferring lands to non-union subsidiaries" with the specific purpose of breaking the union. He calls this "a relatively new and insidious strategy."

The union has countered by filing lawsuits under federal pension and labor law charging that such shifts of assets to avoid the union discriminated against unionized workers, who would literally dig themselves out of their jobs. Pittston's corporate reshuffling reduces the coal reserves in which miners can work in the future. A judge recently denied Pittston's claim that the shifts in reserves were simply normal business practice and ordered the case to proceed.

Getting shafted: Pittston is trying to strip away many of the miners' most cherished protections. It wants to substitute its own pension plan for the industrywide pension plan. But miners want their plan, because it means they can accumulate pension credits in the same plan throughout their work lives, which typically involve employment at several companies, and because the union

By Salim Muwakkil

THE EIGHT BLACK AND HISPANIC YOUTHS charged with raping and brutally assaulting a 28-year-old woman last month as she jogged in New York City's Central Park have become the focus of an impassioned debate in a city dangerously polarized by race and class.

The city's top elected officials, black and white, have condemned the attack in the strongest words and expressed sympathy for the victim—an investment banker who, as *In These Times* went to press, remained in critical condition with multiple skull fractures and facial injuries. According to police, she was raped by at least four of the adolescents and repeatedly beaten with rocks and a metal pipe.

Police said the attack was part of a one-day rampage during which a large group of teenagers terrorized at least nine people in a two-hour period. Robert Colangelo, the city's chief of detectives, told the *New York Times* that the crime spree was the result of a new "pastime" called "wilding." The word is a new one, Colangelo said. "In my mind at this point, it implies that they were going to raise hell."

Elombe Braith, a longtime community activist who lives in the same complex as four of the suspects, said the term derives from a popular rap song called "Wild Thing." He said the practice of gang-swarming has been on the increase in recent years, but since the activity was confined to predominantly black inner-city neighborhoods the media took scant notice.

The aggressive New York news media announced the crime in lurid headlines. In the days following the attack, the suspects were denounced as savages and barbarians and reportedly were beaten by police. Talk shows resonated with words like "black savages" and "jungle bunnies." Naturally, the city's aggressive black press responded to the name-calling with some name-calling of its own. "Racist," "duplicitous" and "outrageous," screamed headlines in the black press.

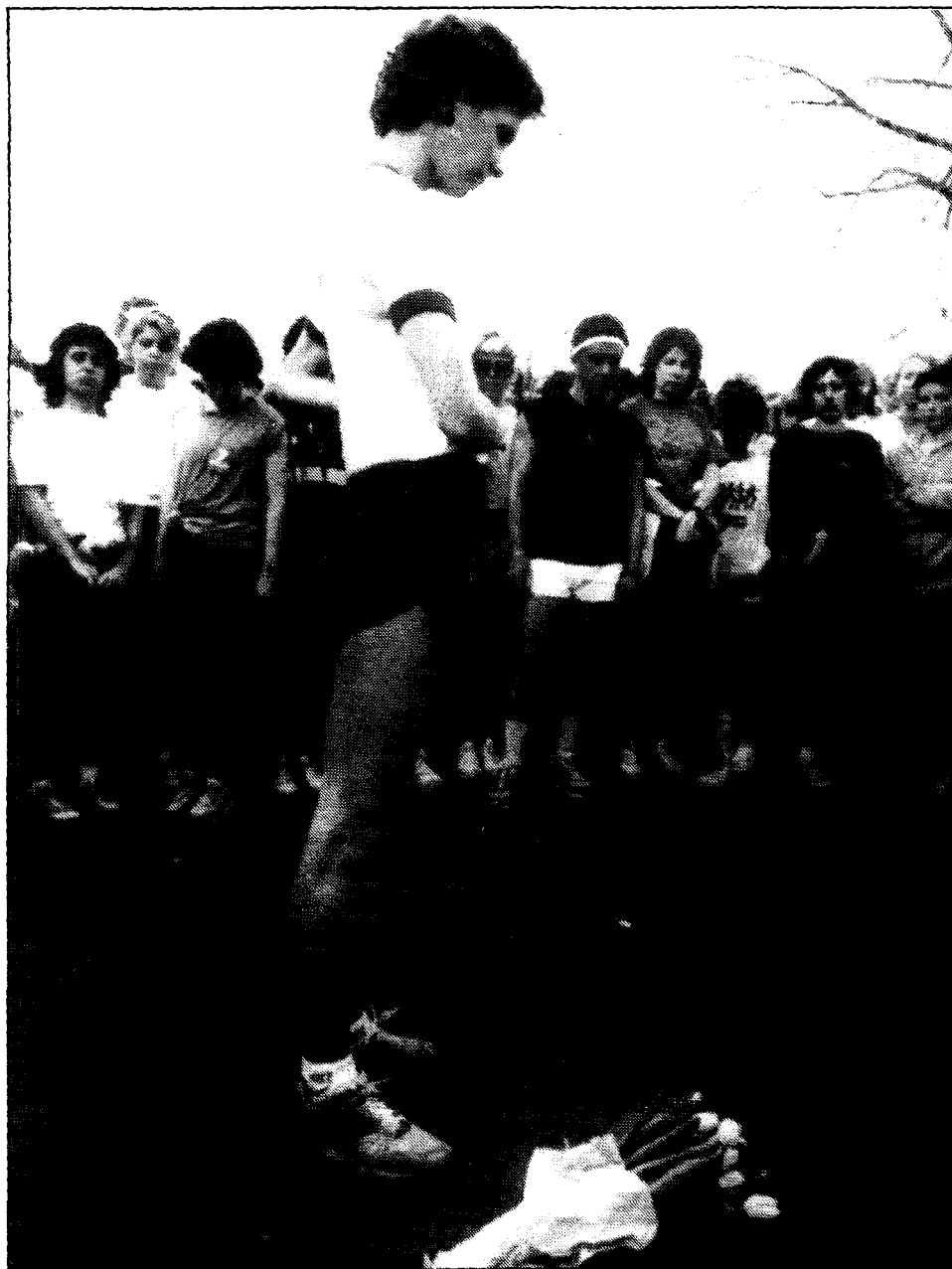
"We are outraged that anyone should suffer—as the young woman in Central Park evidently did—the kind of brutality she was subjected to," stated the black-owned weekly *The City Sun* in a front-page editorial. "Our sympathies are with her and with her family as she struggles for life at Metropolitan Hospital. But our sympathies are with our community also. For we continue to be subjected to a duality of treatment that has its roots firmly anchored in racism."

That sentiment is widely held within the city's African-American community, and this intense concern about racial double standards is perceived by many white New Yorkers as lack of concern for the victim. "The racial aspect of the attack is the magnetic field that surrounds the incident and is so polarizing this city," said Les Payne, assistant managing editor of *New York Newsday*. "To a large extent, those who complain about biased media coverage are absolutely right; after all, this is America."

The assault on the woman appears not to have been racially motivated, however, Payne adds, noting that other victims of the park rampage were non-white.

Selective outrage: African-American leaders are caught between impulses. On the one hand, they feel and must express sympathy for the victim. Many joined a prayer vigil outside the hospital treating her. But on the other hand, they must be careful not to fuel the perception that the assault of one white investment banker is more significant

Central Park: story of fear in black and white



Hundreds of runners gathered in Central Park last month to pray for the rape victim's recovery.

than the hundreds of daily assaults on less vaunted victims.

"I've talked to many people involved in various aspects of this incident," explained Mark Riley, a popular talk show host on black-owned radio station WLIB-AM. "And the one thing most people agree on is the

NEW YORK

vast difference in the way the parties to this crime were treated and the way they're treated in other crimes. How many times have you known the media to reveal the identities of suspects so young?" Riley asked.

Riley said the mainstream media's inordinate focus on the assaulted investment banker is evidence that they place less importance on the lives of African-Americans. "For example, just last Saturday a young woman was raped and murdered in upper Manhattan. But it barely made the headlines on the back pages. Now there has to be a reason for that disparity in coverage," Riley insists. "Although I'd like it to be something else, racism seems to me to be the most logical reason for it."

What's more, the increasingly intemperate tone in the language of various media pundits has provoked a circle-the-wagons mentality among many African-American leaders. "How does a civilized, self-confident people deal with enemies who gang-rape their women?" asked Patrick Buchanan in a recent column on the incident. "Armies

stand them up against a wall and shoot them, or we hang them."

These sweeping, implicitly racist generalizations and draconian solutions are being issued not only from frothing conservatives like Buchanan. Nominally liberal commentators like the *Washington Post's* Richard Cohen and the *New York Post's* Pete Hamill have also used military metaphors in outlining possible solutions to the kind of crimes that are making life increasingly hazardous in America's cities. Columnist George Will suggested that the "wilding" teenagers are simply evil and therefore beyond redemption.

Indeed, the seemingly cavalier barbarity of the crime has given pause to even the more thoughtful mainstream ruminators. "What caused such savagery?" asked an editorial in the April 26 *New York Times*. "How could so many teen-agers lose all sense of morality, even of compassion? The public lunges for explanations."

Unfortunately, say black leaders, the public—goaded by a biased media—has settled on the explanation of race. "No matter what happens now, this will probably provoke white people to clutch their pocketbooks and wallets even tighter, or to walk across the street even faster, when they see the approach of an African-American male," predicted Rev. Herbert Daughtry, one of the black community leaders who conducted a prayer vigil for the victim. "The tragedy of the situation, however, is that such a reaction increases the sense of alienation of

black youth, especially young males. And that lack of connection, of self-worth, helps fuel much of the criminal behavior in our communities," Daughtry adds.

Walking while black: "I live in Schomburg Plaza [the residence of the suspects], and I know some of the guys they arrested for the crime," Kwasi Hinsley told *In These Times* in a telephone interview. "It's hard for me to believe they did it. I'm not saying they didn't, but it would be very extreme behavior for those guys." Hinsley, a 24-year-old graduate of City College of New York, works as a runner in the financial district near Solomon Brothers, the firm that employed the Central Park victim.

"What I'm concerned with is the way the police have been treating all of us since that happened. They're just going around picking up any black or Hispanic guy they want to. It's like they can pick you up for the charge 'walking while black,'" Hinsley noted. He said many whites live in the complex. And although some pundits have characterized it as a dangerous neighborhood patrolled by roving wolf packs, it is in fact a relatively safe community.

"Compared to some nearby areas, this is like an oasis," Hinsley said, but he conceded that so-called wilding incidents have been on the increase. "It's a pretty common thing: a bunch of people just get together and rush people for their gold or their money—sometimes even their clothes. But never have I heard of them trying to take someone's life."

No class barrier: One curious aspect of the incident is the fact that four of the suspects come from middle-class homes with caring parents. Some African-American leaders have used the opportunity to note the inability of the middle class to insulate or isolate their communities from the corrupting effects of the pathologies usually linked to the underclass.

Although some segments of black leadership are urging that more attention be focused on the underlying conditions that could produce a group of adolescents so allegedly willing to commit such a horrendous crime, most of New York's black community leaders are too busy fighting off what they consider white race-baiting to shift the focus inward.

Several of them, for example, have called for the resignation of Mayor Edward Koch because he called the suspects monsters even before they were brought to trial and because he denies that societal causes were partially to blame. Others urged a boycott of properties owned by moneyman Donald Trump, who took out an ad in four city newspapers urging the "savages be given the death penalty." In an example of the tit-for-tat atmosphere poisoning the city, most of the city's black-owned publications are publishing the victim's name in an attempt to point out the mainstream media's double standard.

That such a brutal—and sexist—crime provokes suspicion, racial recriminations and group hatred, rather than outrage, sympathy and a collective resolve to do whatever's necessary to make sure it isn't repeated, is a depressing portent for the future of racial harmony.

"New York has an amazing ability to settle down and get back to normal," advised WLIB's Riley. "All of this controversy will subside in time, and we'll get back to the usual reality of African-Americans struggling to make it in a racist city that would rather ignore them or blame them for their poverty than help them escape it."

Hungary hopes to go from mixed-up economy to one that's better mixed

By Diana Johnstone

WHEN A FIRST GROUP OF SOVIET TANKS began withdrawing from Hungary on April 25, in fulfillment of Mikhail Gorbachov's pledge to the United Nations last December, the famous Italian porno star Ilona "Cicciolina" Staller was there to kiss the boys goodbye.

While several thousand Russian soldiers are leaving Hungary, just about everybody in the West seems to be arriving. Cicciolina was in her native Hungary along with the entire Italian Radical Party (of the radical-chic tendency) that got her elected to the Italian Parliament. Publicity-conscious leader Marco Pannella had figured that the really chic place to hold his Radical Party congress this year was Budapest.

A few weeks earlier an audience of 1,500 cheered and wept over the abolished Austro-Hungarian Empire at a talk by Otto von Hapsburg, the heir to its abolished throne, sponsored by the Jewish Cultural Association in Budapest.

Leaping the moat: All of this coming and going is welcome in Budapest, but what Hungarian leaders really want to see coming in is Western investment capital. Hungary lacks the strong currency needed to modernize its economy. Government representatives recently have been trying to persuade the West Germans to buy controlling shares in the 52 Hungarian nationalized industries up for privatization.

Last week the first successful sale was announced. A Western consortium led by the Austrian central bank is paying \$110 million for 49.65 percent of the stock of Tungsram, Europe's third-largest manufacturer of light bulbs, a 92-year-old Hungarian-based multinational with 13 foreign subsidiaries, including one in the U.S. The Western takeover should enable Tungsram to modernize. This will entail shedding 28 percent of its 18,400 employees in time to be in shape to compete inside the European Single Market in 1993.

Meanwhile, Japan holds the biggest hunk of the \$18-billion foreign debt that has brought Hungary to the brink of ruin. This year, the gross foreign debt appears to equal 70 percent of gross domestic product. Hungary is both the most prosperous East bloc country and the most indebted per capita. This is not a paradox. The other most indebted countries, Yugoslavia and Poland, are also the ones most open to the Western capitalist market. As the vanguard of the Communist reformation, that is, the conversion of state socialist command economies to the capitalist free market, Hungary is a test case. Hungary is reaching a point where it has to jump across the the financial moat that surrounds the Communist economies or fall in.

The great exporters: In any case, Hungarian leaders see no turning back from a course initiated 20 years ago.

A small country of some 11 million, Hungary depends on exports for nearly 40 percent of its national income. Once the granary

of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Hungary now exports mainly industrial products. The country is an important producer of railroad trains. Its Ikarus trucks and buses are driven all over Eastern Europe. Hungary is a major world exporter of light bulbs, electric meters and medicines. Trade within the Eastern bloc is kept balanced by official accords worked out between industrial lobbies, which juggle prices to make it all come out even on paper. The growing deficit is with the West.

In 1968 Hungary decided to center production on goods that could be exported to the hard-currency countries of the West. This was part of the "goulash Communism" that

EUROPE

restored social peace after the terrible events of 1956, when mass revolt was put down by the Soviet army. The ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP) led by Janos Kadar, an opposition Communist brought to power to put things back together after 1956, shifted priority from building up heavy industry to consumer goods, from import substitutes to export goods, and away from the command economy toward a mixed economy.

The 1968 drive to export to the West brought a few years of rapid expansion before Hungary was struck by the recession hitting Western Europe after the 1973 oil crisis. Its Western trade orientation has made Hungary especially vulnerable to Western economic and currency fluctuations. A drop in the dollar cuts the value of Hungarian exports priced in dollars compared to imports paid in Deutsche marks.

"Singapore of Central Europe": Hungarians have understood that wealth these days is generated above all by financial transactions. Deputy Finance Minister Zsigmond Jarai, 37, who helped introduce the new Budapest stock exchange, says Hungary could be "the Singapore of Central Europe" once it installs the necessary infrastructure. As an open country bordering both the West and the Soviet Union, Hungary aspires to be the financial center of Western European investment in Gorbachovian Eastern Europe. "Our strong feature is the intellectual qualities of the nation," a highly placed party man commented. Hungarians are strong on computer and financial techniques and "know both East and West."

"We have all your problems now," Hungarians observe wryly. In fact, they don't yet really have them all. Unemployment has been held off by subsidies to money-losing industries. Under state socialism, not only was there supposed to be no unemployment, it was illegal to be out of work. But last January 1, with 16,000 registered unemployed (out of a work force of 6 million), a tentative system of partial unemployment compensation was introduced. Official forecasts predict that the registered unemployed could rise to 40,000, or even 100,000, by the end of this year. And the official figures ignore people who have never yet held a job.

Meanwhile, Hungary is suffering from traffic congestion, pollution, soaring real estate

prices and budget squeezes in social services such as health and education. It is sobering to hear problems—which in the West are blamed on capitalism—blamed, in the East, on communism. Somewhere there must be some people who don't go along with the consensus, but they are now in an isolated minority, even inside the ruling HSWP. Former police officials and retired army officers in the "Ferenc Münnich circle" (named after a Hungarian Communist leader, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War who helped Kadar restore order after 1956) are believed to fear a "white terror"—a violent anti-communist purge—in case the HSWP should be totally ousted.

In fact, a party that is in symbiosis with the state could hardly be totally ousted without something terrible happening. The reformers' worst-case scenario for a social explosion sees such veterans, plus police and military officers, joining with discontented industrial workers in an uprising against the reformers. Other observers insist that these days nothing so dramatic will happen. Rather, discontent could take the form of passive resistance, refusal to pay the newly instituted income taxes, for instance, causing chronic disorder and scaring away Western investment.

Memories of 1956 enforce the widespread determination on all sides to avoid violent upheaval.

Westward ho: The consensus for keeping to the Westward course is based on at least three factors. One, the conviction that "command Communism" has exhausted its capacity to function. Two, the genuine desire and need for greater political freedom. And three, a deep subjective cultural identification with "the West," meaning Western Europe.

A recent report by a historical commission to the HSWP central committee stated flatly that Marxist-Leninist ideology had proved incapable of providing answers to the problems raised by the deep transformation of the world economy and the technical revolution. This transformation has brought about a crisis of the East European model of socialism.

Last year, party leader Karoly Grosz, who at that time was prime minister (a job since passed along to Miklos Nemeth), told a *Financial Times* conference in Budapest that the profound structural changes in the world economy, marked by increased interdependence, had put Eastern Europe in a tough spot. Socialism had helped Eastern Europe overcome ancient backwardness, develop a "work culture" and raise the level of cultural and public life. But "modern forms of individual and group self-interest" require new methods.

Grosz described the aim of the Hungarian reform program as a "socialist market economy." Whereas before the idea was to let market mechanisms operate wherever the state-planned command economy didn't work well, now it was the other way around. "Wherever the market turns out not to be a socially efficient or acceptable coordination mechanism, and only there, non-market means must be found."

In 1948, under the leadership of Matyas Rakosi, inventor of the "salami tactics" (his expression) of slicing off rival political forces, the Communist Party forced the Social Democratic Party into a merger as the HSWP. Today, one of the leading reformers, Rezső Nyers, an economist identified with the 1968 reforms, is a veteran of that absorbed Social Democratic Party, whose trad-

Communist Party leader Karoly Grosz: modern problems, modern approaches.



Courtesy of Hungarian Consulate

itional ideals are currently being praised by the ruling HSWP as a whole in its repudiation of the Stalinist model of state socialism.

In the mid-70s, sociologists and philosophers who pointed to the changes in Hungarian society resulting from economic development were silenced, some going into exile. This was a fatal blow to the intellectual school of Hungarian Marxism under the influence of theorist George Lukacs. However, today party leaders recognize that the intellectuals were right and suggest they were sacrificed as a tactical move to protect Hungarian reforms from criticism originating in other East bloc states.

The party's invitation: In May 1988, the HSWP held a special conference that retired Kadar and laid the groundwork for a transition from a single-party state to political pluralism. It introduced pluralism into the party itself by allowing various "platforms" to express themselves—a step away from traditional "democratic centralism" with its rigorous ban on "factionalism."

Istvan Földessy, identified with the Grosz current in the HSWP central committee, explained in an interview that the party's turn to pluralism is based on analysis of societal changes. Pluralism means the possibility of expressing the myriad of different interests created by the 1968 reforms. The party has found itself unable to play its role of "identifying, absorbing and harmonizing" the various interests in modern society.

The transition to political pluralism is organically linked to the equally problematic transition to a market economy. Hungarian leaders say they realized from the start that the 1968 economic reforms would require political counterparts, but were inhibited by the August 1968 Warsaw Pact repression of the "Prague Spring" in neighboring Czechoslovakia. The advent of Gorbachov enables the Hungarians to try to make up for all that lost time.

However, there is immense uncertainty about the meaning of political pluralism. Much of the reformist party leadership would prefer a type of pluralism in which the ruling party can be "corrected" by independent movements, freely expressing the interests of emerging social groups and articulating new social problems. This is the Western system as some Hungarian party intellectuals perceive it: an essentially unmovable political establishment, whether alternating between parties agreed on basics, or dominated by just one (the Christian Democrats have ruled Italy since the end of World War II), but "corrected" by movements expressing diverse currents in civil society. The masses check power but do not exercise it.

The idea would be to institute a pluralism that, like that in the West, allows diversity without exploding into a revolution that overturns the social system. This is behind the party's effort to include the word "socialism" in the new constitution. What this "socialism" would mean is extremely vague: Földessy speaks of "equal opportunities" and so on, and of the need to develop something like the West German system of "co-determination" in Hungarian factories. "The party regards itself as the carrier of both the values of social democracy and of Communism, meaning discipline," says Földessy.

Both are devalued. The party youth organization has just renamed itself the Union of Democratic Youth, rejecting not only the word "Communist," but also "socialist."

Social scientist György Markus says that while paternalistic post-Stalinist East Euro-

pean states were "compromising socialism itself," Western Europe applied "a slice of socialism" and "struck a dynamic historic compromise which can be expanded or contracted." The positive alternative to a social "explosion" in Hungary is "a social democratic orientation." Markus hopes that a multi-party system with a socialist mixed economy could "reach a stage where the trade union movement would not be the opponent of modernization."

Poland's shift to pluralism has begun with political concessions to the Solidarity union, that is, by making a deal with precisely those industrial workers who are destined to be thrown out of work by the modernization that goes with political pluralism. In so far as this trick works, it depends on the fervent Catholicism of much of the Polish working class. Workers are to be consoled by faith. The Polish historic compromise is a deal between state authorities and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Catholic Church cannot represent "civil society" in a transition to pluralism in Hungary, which is partly Protestant and altogether less pious. Aside from its own internal "platform" pluralism, the HSWP has started by letting old parties and new movements form, in expectation of the coming formation of new political parties.

New voices: A cartoon in a Budapest newspaper shows a veteran Communist saying to a couple of comrades: "Old members of former parties are popping up all over; only we Communists liquidated each other." The Independent Smallholders Party, which won 57 percent of the vote in the last, and perhaps only fully free, elections, in November 1945, has reconstituted itself. Last January saw the revival of a Social Democratic Party (SDP) other than the one submerged into the HSWP. The new SDP already claims 20,000 members, but faces problems analogous to those that eventually wore down the Spanish Communist Party after the end of the Franco dictatorship: harmonizing rival currents marked by exile in different countries, and finding a way to compromise and perhaps even share power with the ruling party without being accused by followers of a sellout.

So far, it is hard to tell whether the future of "social democracy" lies inside or outside the HSWP, or somewhere between. Rezső Nyers says of the revived Social Democratic Party, "We're looking for ways to get together. We'll be their socialist conscience, and they'll be our democratic conscience."

Opposition figures accuse the HSWP of encouraging the proliferation of new parties in order to dominate a splintered opposition. Meanwhile, two new movements share the spotlight as potential new opposition parties.

One is the League of Free Democrats, essentially a civil libertarian grouping of a couple of thousand distinguished intellectuals, including jurists with concrete ideas about Hungary's new constitution. They want a parliamentary system rather than the strong presidency favored by the HSWP. A number of prominent Jewish intellectuals cherishing universalist values have gone from Marxism to the Free Democrats. Free Democrats insist on withdrawal of the state from the economy and consider that the "main task of Hungarian foreign policy" is to bring Hungary as close as possible to Western Europe and the Single Market.

The other, larger group is the Hungarian Democratic Forum, founded in September 1987 with support from the ruling party's

most popular reform leader, Imre Pozsgay. While the Free Democrats stress law, the Democratic Forum stresses culture. The Democratic Forum "embodies and expresses the dreams, ideas and hopes of a great part of society," said Pozsgay aide Laszlo Vass in an interview in the ornate Budapest Parliament offices on the Danube. The Forum is "educating people on ethnic and historical values close to the hearts of Hungarians."

What Hungarian leaders in Budapest really want to see coming in is Western investment capital.

The "revival of national feelings" is well underway, helped along by indignation against treatment of the huge minority of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania, detached from defeated Hungary and awarded to Romania by the Western Allies at Versailles after World War I, in 1920. This historic grievance was silenced after World War II both by defeat (Hungary had fought alongside Nazi Germany, in large part to recover Transylvania) and by the theory that the advances of the fraternal socialist countries in Eastern Europe would eradicate national and ethnic conflicts.

With Marxism-Leninism fading fast and Catholicism already faded, national pride is being more or less deliberately awakened to provide the Hungarian people with an ideological incentive to get them through the transition period. The Forum is reviving the tradition of Hungarian populism that flourished after World War I, when nationalists turned to the virtues of the peasantry to renew the nation after its aristocracy went down to defeat.

If the Free Democrats sound a lot like

Western European liberals, the Democratic Forum strikes a tone closer to Christian Democracy. But the HSWP is seeking its "historic compromise" with the more conservative Democratic Forum because, in contrast to the League of Free Democrats, the Forum is not explicitly against "socialism." It is too vague for that.

Imre Pozsgay, 55, has gained an enviable image as the ruling party's leading reformer and critic. He was lucky never to be associated with any unpopular decision. He used to be general secretary of the "Patriotic Popular Front," the party's fellow traveling mass movement, where he could learn how to get along with the people.

Hapsburg for president? The talk these days in Budapest is of a "Spanish solution," an equivalent of King Juan Carlos, able to keep old-line military officers (Communists, in the Hungarian case) from leading rebellion while a new pluralist government enacts a program very much like that of Spain's prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez. *U.S. News and World Report* has suggested Otto von Hapsburg. No, a Hapsburg would be really too much.

The new president, who may be elected next spring, should "embody democratic values" and "render historical justice," so that all parts of society can cooperate, says Laszlo Vass, who hopes to see Pozsgay in this role. The grooming is going on carefully. Thus when the party historical commission early this year acknowledged that the 1956 revolt was a broad popular movement and not a mere counterrevolutionary plot, Pozsgay broke the story. This, says Vass, had a "social and psychological impact," creating an opportunity for the opposing extremes of society to come together.

It's hard to predict the future in fast-moving Hungary, but here's a tip for the presidential election: the odds favor King Pozsgay the First...of Hungary, the Singapore of Central Europe. □

Imre Pozsgay: bright future for ruling party's leading reformer?



By Jim Wurst

UNITED NATIONS

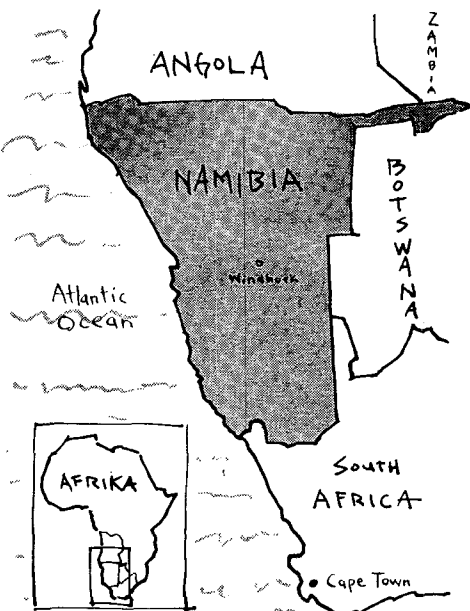
WHAT WAS MEANT TO BE A TRIUMPH OF international diplomacy turned into a disaster last month as Africa's final colony, Namibia, began the last leg of its long road to independence and democratic self-rule.

The largest United Nations peacekeeping operation in decades began on April 1 with a cease-fire among all of the Namibian conflict's parties: South Africa, which has controlled the land since 1915 and has ignored U.N. plans for Namibian independence since 1968; the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which has been fighting for an independent Namibia since 1977; and Angola, which has been providing bases and support for SWAPO guerrillas. The U.N. Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) was supposed to supervise the cease-fire, the demobilization of armed forces and the transition to independence. But within hours, the whole plan seemed to be unraveling.

As generally reported in the U.S. media, this is what happened: On April 1, the first day of the peace process, armed SWAPO guerrillas infiltrated into Namibia from Angola. Estimates of the SWAPO strength went as high as 1,600. Once in Namibia, the guerrillas were met by South African police. Fighting ensued and quickly intensified. Because the U.N. peacekeepers were not in place, South Africa demanded that its Namibian-based armed forces be allowed out of their barracks to help police. UNTAG agreed. For days it looked like U.N. ineffectiveness and SWAPO treachery were threatening the peace plan.

The problem with this account of the events is that it is the official version pre-

What the U.S. media failed to mention about Namibia



sented by South Africa, which barred journalists from the area of conflict. U.S. journalists relied on South African sources and press releases. When the U.N. allowed South African troops to leave their barracks, thus implicitly endorsing this version of the events (the U.N. still has not issued a comprehensive version of its own), Pretoria had achieved a public relations coup: South Africa appeared to be defending the cease-fire, when in fact it was violating it (see story on page 16).

The other side of the story: But a SWAPO representative at the U.N., Monica Nashandi, offered a much different version of the events. She said the SWAPO fighters were already in Namibia and their intention was to surrender to UNTAG, not fight South Africa. "They assembled themselves in Namibia a few hours after the cease-fire came into effect.... They came to turn themselves over to UNTAG," which is what they understood was provided for in the peace plan, she said. "UNTAG was nowhere to be found, so they were attacked by South Africa." Nashandi said no combatants crossed the border from Angola until after April 2 to reinforce the fighters in Namibia. (South Africa officially denies that SWAPO even has a force inside Namibia, an assertion not backed up by the facts.)

The police force included members of *Koevoet* ("crowbar"), a South African-organized security force, which Amnesty International and Roman Catholic Church officials have linked to "disappearances" and torture. Independent evidence now shows that *Koevoet* lived up to its reputation. A photographer for the *Sunday Telegraph*, a conservative British paper, took pictures that, along with eyewitness accounts, show that many of the Namibians died from single bullet wounds to the head—indicative of an execution rather than a battle.

In addition, the death toll of SWAPO troops commonly given in the U.S. media (again, a South African tally) is around 300. But Nashandi claimed that only about 100 of those fatalities were SWAPO soldiers. The rest were civilians who were in the wrong place when *Koevoet* showed up.

She said, "One of the tragic things was to authorize the South Africans to have their troops released from base to attack SWAPO.... [The U.N.] has given in too much to South Africa." A British lawmaker who was in Namibia at the time echoed that opinion. Paul

Boateng, who spoke at the U.N. on April 27, said, "Almost overnight the U.N. was seen to be acting in concert with the South Africans."

Boateng, a member of Parliament for the Labour Party, was part of an observer mission for the Association of Western European Parliamentarians for Action Against Apart-

AFRICA

heid. The delegation was in Namibia from March 28 to April 2. Boateng said that the most important role for the U.N. now is to "seek to restore the peace process...in a way that ensures the international community backs the secretary-general with all the resources at its disposal."

Shared blame: Thanks to Pretoria's control of the news, the U.N. and SWAPO are getting the brunt of the criticism for the bloodshed. And certainly the U.N. must take primary responsibility for the massacre of the Namibians—the guerrillas reportedly intended to surrender to Finnish and Malay U.N. troops, not to *Koevoet*—but that is not a full explanation of why UNTAG was not in place. That requires a bit more guilt to be spread around.

The U.N. resolution that laid the framework for the peace process—Resolution 435, passed in 1978—stipulated a force of 8,300 troops, police and civilians. In a case of cooperative shortsightedness, all five permanent members of the Security Council—the U.S., the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China—demanded a smaller force, complaining about the costs (see *In These Times*, March 29). For weeks in February and March, the "big five," the secretary-general, the Organization of African Unity and other interested parties wrangled over the size and budget of UNTAG. Late in March the General Assembly agreed to a deployment of 4,650 military and 1,500 civilian personnel. Every day as the April 1 deadline approached, U.N. officials were asked if UNTAG could still meet that deadline. The answer was always "yes." As 300 dead Namibians attest, the answer was "no."

In trying to restore order and preserve the peace process, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar negotiated an interim measure on April 9 calling for a 60-hour truce during which SWAPO fighters could reach UNTAG assembly points without harassment in Namibia and in Angola north of the 16th parallel (about 90 miles inside the country). Few fighters turned up at the Namibian assembly points—possibly because South Africa set up bases near the points.

At a news conference in Windhoek on April 27, Marrack Goulding, the head of all U.N. peacekeeping forces, who had been in Namibia since April 3, said about 4,000 SWAPO fighters had arrived north of the 16th parallel, but it was not clear how many had come from southern Angola and how many from Namibia. Goulding also said a new branch of the U.N. forces—UNTAG ALFA—had been deployed in Angola to oversee the confinement of SWAPO. Other U.N. representatives said it appears that all SWAPO personnel captured by South Africa recently had been released and turned over to U.N. monitors and that South African forces were "in the process" of returning to base.

A homecoming: But stopping the fighting is not the U.N.'s only worry. The original timetable allows tens of thousands of Namibian exiles—SWAPO and civilian—to return home nine weeks after the cease-fire began. No one has indicated that the timetable has been abandoned, so, barring a new flareup, Namibians will be returning home in June. These will be some of the voters who will elect a constituent assembly in November, which in turn will draft a constitution and will set a date for independence sometime in 1990. Over this same period, South Africa is to reduce its forces, so that by November 1 this year 1,500 will remain in Namibia, confined to two bases. But before they can decide the fate of their homeland, the refugees will cause new problems that no one is ready to address.

The peace plan calls for resettlement of approximately 58,000 Namibian refugees. These people will require housing, food, health care and education for children. Boateng said that the views expressed to him by Namibian relief workers connected to the Christian Council for Namibia were that there are not enough facilities to handle the influx.

The refugee situation also may cause problems in this November's planned election. All returning refugees will have to be registered to vote and screened to be sure South Africa is not slipping in non-Namibians who would support pro-South Africa candidates.

Boateng said UNTAG behavior up to now "has led to the perception that UNTAG, wherever possible, seeks to define responsibility in a way that leaves the South African administration intact." Boateng pointed out that this means South Africa's administrator general will continue to play an active role in Namibian politics, that the discriminatory laws, including administration detention and censorship, are still in effect, that state television and radio will remain under South African control without any UNTAG monitoring, and—most glaring of all—30,000 *Koevoet* members are being integrated as members of the paramilitary police. These are the same police who will be guarding polling stations to ensure "free and fair" elections.

Boateng sees South Africa's goal as creating as much damage as possible to the peace process. Using military means to achieve political goals, Pretoria knows it cannot prevent a SWAPO victory at the polls, he said, but it can corrupt the process enough so that SWAPO will not have the two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly that would be necessary to control the drafting of the constitution.

"South Africa will thereby secure legitimacy for its continued presence in Namibia [through its political surrogates] in an extended interim and maximize its influence thereafter," he said.

The most charitable interpretation of the U.N.'s actions is that it simply was not ready by April 1 to handle normal procedures, much less the chaos that occurred, and that it placed too much trust in South Africa. With 3,700 of the 4,650 members of the peacekeeping force now in place and the shock of South African duplicity still fresh, the leaders of UNTAG have the chance to redeem themselves in the eyes of Namibians and do the job they have been assigned by the international community: facilitating the road to independence, free of interference.

Jim Wurst writes regularly about the United Nations.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE S

If applicable affix your mailing label here.

I AM:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ **MOVING.**

NEW ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4 - 6 weeks for the address change.

☐ **SUBSCRIBING.** Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else in your mailbox within 4 - 6 weeks. Check price and term below. **ASTN7**

☐ **RENEWING.** Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. Check price and term below. **ARST7**

☐ **SHOPPING.** Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Fill out your name and address above and name and address of recipient below. A handsome gift card will be sent. **XSTH7**

NAME OF RECIPIENT _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PRICE / TERM

- ☐ One year: \$34.95
- ☐ Six months: \$18.95
- ☐ Student/retired, One year: \$24.95
- ☐ Institutional, One year: \$59.00
- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me later
- ☐ Charge my VISA/MC

ACCT. NO. _____

EXP. DATE _____

Canadian orders add \$13 per year. All other foreign orders add \$33 for 5-10 day delivery.

In These Times Customer Service
1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054
1-800-435-0715; in Illinois 1-800-892-0753

Pain Forest:

Brazil's clash between development and preservation



Rock star Sting (seated third from left) during a recent meeting with Kayapo Indian leaders.

By Steve Turner

IT WAS BRAZIL. ALL RIGHT. PEOPLE WITH BODY paint and feather costumes were dancing in the street. But it wasn't *Carnaval* in Rio. It was a political event in Belem, near the mouth of the Amazon River. Four hundred Kayapo Indians took to urban streets with weapons and war chants in a theatrically calculated protest demonstration.

The Oct. 14, 1988, action was aimed at government plans to build hydroelectric dams that would flood huge areas—including demarcated Indian lands—in the globally crucial great Amazonian forest.

Another focus of the demonstration was support for tribal leader Kuben'i Kayapo, who that day was being arraigned for lobbying against the dams along with environmental activists, politicians and World Bank officials in the U.S.

The street display was also a calculated tactical maneuver in the provocative, escalating campaign that has put this ancient tribe at center stage in the international fight to save the rain forest.

It was an impressive performance. The Kayapo, confronting urban Brazilians and the police, freely play up their warrior reputation. As late as the '50s they were still raiding Brazilian frontier settlements in the state of Para. In the 19th century they had been driven up the Xingu River and other nearby Amazon tributaries to their current reservation homelands by Brazilian slave raids.

More recently, when a corporate gold mine was illegally opened on their land, armed Kayapo simply took over the operation. Revenues from the appropriated mine have enabled them to buy an airplane and power boats with which they police their borders, capturing and driving out squatters, pelt hunters, hardwood rustlers, prospectors and other interlopers.

In short, the Kayapo are quickly learning how to use the tools of an invading culture in the fight to preserve their own. "The Brazilians describe us as savages, wild people," says Kayapo activist Paulinho Payakan. "But I say *they* are really the savages, because they go around destroying everything without asking anyone. The Kayapo need to learn the language of the Brazilians, to read and write and to use the things of their civilization, but

not to be civilized in their way. We are already civilized in our own way."

The result, says University of Chicago anthropologist Terry Turner, who has been associated with the tribe for 25 years, is an unusually successful hybrid pattern. Some Kayapo villages, for instance, use battery-powered video cameras to record their rituals and dances for future generations. Chiefs going out to meet Brazilian officials wear traditional feathers and body paint on bare skin to the waist, European pants and shoes below. And although their villages—built of wood, mud and thatch—are situated in deep forest clearings accessible only by air or water, the Kayapo have campaigned for forest preservation throughout the Western Hemisphere.

So when coming to Belem, it's not surprising that, along with their weapons and paint, the Kayapo brought a TV crew.

The Earth's lung: They also brought a map, obtained at some difficulty in the capital of Brasilia, showing potential sites for up to 60 dams on Amazon tributaries. The first to be built—concrete monoliths named Kararao and Babaquara—would pond the Kayapo's Xingu River. All told, the dams proposed on the map might flood an area as large as the Northeastern U.S.

Even in the subcontinent-sized great Amazonian forest—"the largest wild place on Earth," as Stephan Schwartzman, staff anthropologist for the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) terms it—this would be an environmental disaster. The territorial self-defense of the Indians and other forest peoples—including the renowned rubber tappers, who also typically harvest Brazil nuts and other forest products—has become a fulcrum for an international battle with consequences for the entire planet. An average acre of this huge amalgam of rain forest and deciduous tree land contains more plant species than all of Europe. The vast daily process of photosynthesis here consumes so much carbon dioxide and produces so much oxygen that the forest, like a giant lung, is the globe's premier natural defense against the greenhouse effect.

But in Brazilian terms, the forest and its copious subsurface minerals are exploitable resources. Until recently, Brazilian development policy encouraged unbridled logging,

slash-and-burn squatter settlement, river-destructive mining, iron production and the torching of vast tracts by ranchers to make pastures for the lucrative export beef trade. Under international pressure, Brazil has given lip service to protecting the forest. But in practice little has changed. Burning, mining and logging continue at a horrific rate.

On top of this come the dams.

The Kayapo publicly displayed their captured map inviting Belem's urban passersby to join them in reviewing the massive changes the government was planning to impose on the region. Employing their traditional bent for oratory, Kayapo men and women paraded behind a heavy cordon of police and dramatically expressed their anger.

Destruction of the great Amazon forest has become so egregious—with fires visible for hundreds of miles from the air—that Brazil has had to alter its policies to begin bringing the situation under control. But environmentalists say not enough is being done.

"We don't like this," said one woman. "Our ancestors lived here and are buried here."

"These are our lands," said one man. "Why has no one come to us to discuss this plan? Why do we have to go to Brasilia to get this map?"

Inside the courthouse, the symbolic answer to these questions was again brutally clear. Kuben'i, presenting himself for arraignment in his paint and feathers, was informed by the judge that his attire was disrespectful to a Brazilian court and he could not be processed.

With a horselaugh, Kuben'i and the Kayapo told the judge that if their dress was inappropriate in Belem, he would have to come to

Kayapo territory for the arraignment. Charges against Kuben'i were later dropped. He had been accused of aiding a U.S. ethnobotanist whose international lobbying efforts on behalf of the rain forest are officially regarded as foreign interference in Brazilian affairs.

Then they all went home. The ability to move so many people so far (at least 14 hours by bus) for a demonstration heartened their planning for the next step in the campaign—a pan-tribal encampment in February 1989. It would be the first attempt to unify tribes of eastern Amazonia in opposition to the dam projects.

Out of control: Some Brazilians refer to their country, larger geographically than the continental U.S., as "BelIndia." The industrial south, including the megalopolises of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, is likened to Belgium, while the north—an impoverished territory bordered by the profuse Amazonian tree lands—is compared to India. For the multitudes of urban poor in this nation of 145 million, the forested, mineral-rich north serves the same function as did the Western frontier in 19th-century America. Even the cast of characters is the same—desperate farm families, powerful cattle ranchers, armed thugs, prospectors and miners, loggers, missionaries and Indians.

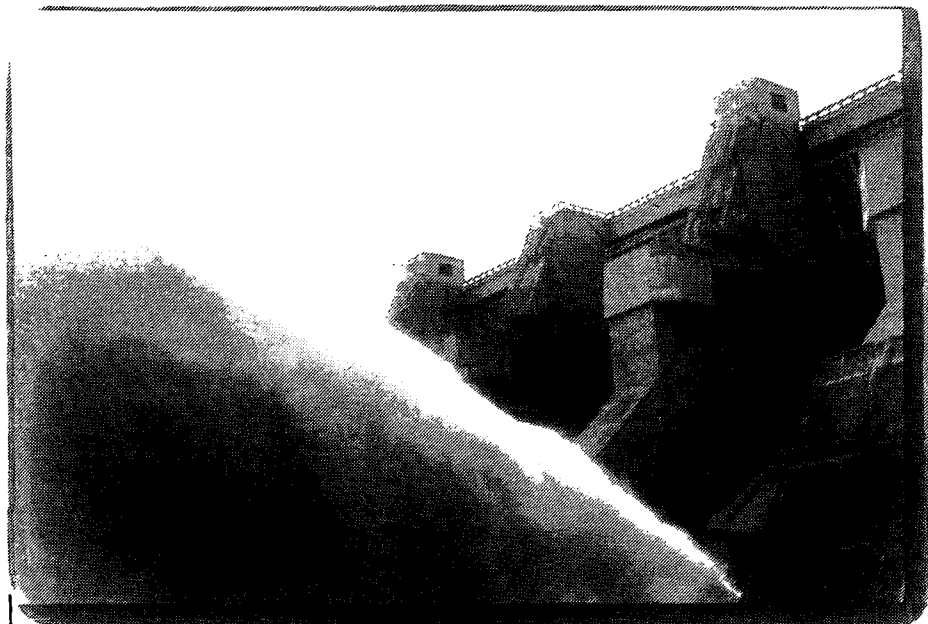
Law enforcement in the north conjures up images of Judge Roy Bean. Schwartzman tells of a town in Amazonia named Bangi Bangi, Portuguese for "bang, bang."

Brazil is caught in a time warp. Ugly, old-fashioned laissez-faire exploitation of natural resources exists side by side with modern ecopolitical consciousness. For Brazilians, it is galling to be told by the developed nations to "do as we say, not as we did."

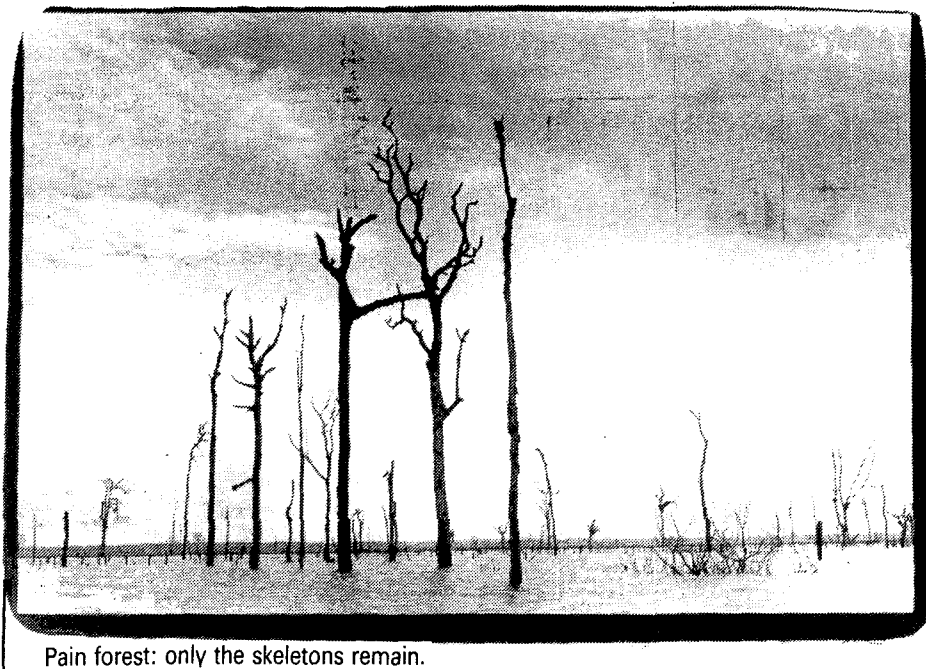
But destruction of the forest has become so egregious—with fires visible for hundreds of miles from the air and smoke clouds hazing the entire Southern Hemisphere—that the Brazilian government has had to alter its policies to at least start to bring the situation under control. Subsidies for cattle ranch development, for example, were suspended to reduce that major source of forest invasion.

Budget cuts, however, are undermining this modest progress. In a positive gesture France, Holland, West Germany and Japan have offered to relieve some of the budget pressure

Continued on following page



Environmentalists and Indians are trying to keep hydroelectric projects out of Amazonia.



Pain forest: only the skeletons remain.

Continued from preceding page

by forgiving portions of Brazil's massive foreign debt if the liberated funds are plowed into conservation programs. Brazil has grudgingly begun to accept this approach.

The grand goal: But the country's powerful, ultranationalistic military poses special problems. Brazil's generals envision new forest settlements to secure the national borders, and they regard environmentalists as subversives.

When it comes to hydroelectric dams, the political dynamics are even more tense and difficult. The heavy construction industry has considerable clout in Brazil. As a result, dams are being built without adequate planning, flooding huge areas for miniscule power output. (Balbina, one such dam, is an admitted ecological disaster that may silt itself out of production within a decade.)

More importantly, however, the planned

The Amazon is a very emotional issue in Brazil right now," he says.

Emotions are driven even higher, says Pinto, by the prospect of Brazil running out of power.

"Clearly, there's going to be rationing in the south in a short time if something isn't done to put the electrical sector back on its feet financially," says Schwartzman.

"We are in trouble now," adds Pinto. "Industrial development and energy development in some regions are running neck and neck. We're worried that in a couple of years we may face the situation Argentina now has, with blackouts, brownouts, rationing of electricity and three-day workweeks. We need to totally remake our electric grid. In the short run, that's even more important than dam building. But the holdup in dam development is very bad. Our plan had called for more hydroelectricity to be on the way already. There's a hole opening in front of us."

The great Amazonian forest is crucial to the global environment. But development-hungry Brazilians view it as one big gold mine waiting to be plundered. They don't like being told by the industrialized nations to "do as we say, not as we did." Developers want carte blanche, but native Amazonians are fighting back with a mixture of tribal showmanship and modern pressure tactics.

dams underpin the national elites' dream of Brazil as an industrial giant—which already exports autos, weapons and appliances—that will come to dominate the economic affairs of the Southern Hemisphere. Necessary to this dream is a huge boost in energy production. Right now, Brazil's total power supply per capita is about one-sixteenth of U.S. levels, on a par with China.

To get that boost, says Joao Luis Pinto, science attaché at the Brazilian Embassy in Washington, D.C., "we lean very heavily on hydroelectric." Brazil contains most of the Amazon river system, the largest in the world in volume of flow.

"The nuclear option is not popular here," says Pinto, "and Brazil has very little coal to burn. Some new natural gas has been discovered offshore, and we've made a deal with Bolivia to import more gas.

"A hopeful door may be open, in my opinion, in the area of energy conservation in industry and [electrical] distribution, not a solution, but medicine for our cold. But eventually we have to develop hydro. Eighty percent of our developable [non-nuclear] energy resources are hydroelectric, and two-thirds of that is in the Amazon. It's very difficult.

12 IN THESE TIMES MAY 10-16, 1989

For Brazil's 225,000 indigenous inhabitants, the concerns in the "Belgium" south are distant thunder. On the Xingu River the prime concern is not oxygen for the world or electricity for São Paulo. The issue is the sustenance of cultural identity, a way of life for which preservation of forest lands is both an economic and spiritual necessity.

Nor is this some atavistic wish for simpler times. The issue, says Turner, is whether Brazil's Indians can retain for themselves the power to decide how they will live. For the Kayapo, the dams—and the huge work crews they will require—will destroy the living space, vegetation, wildlife and riverine ecology on which they depend.

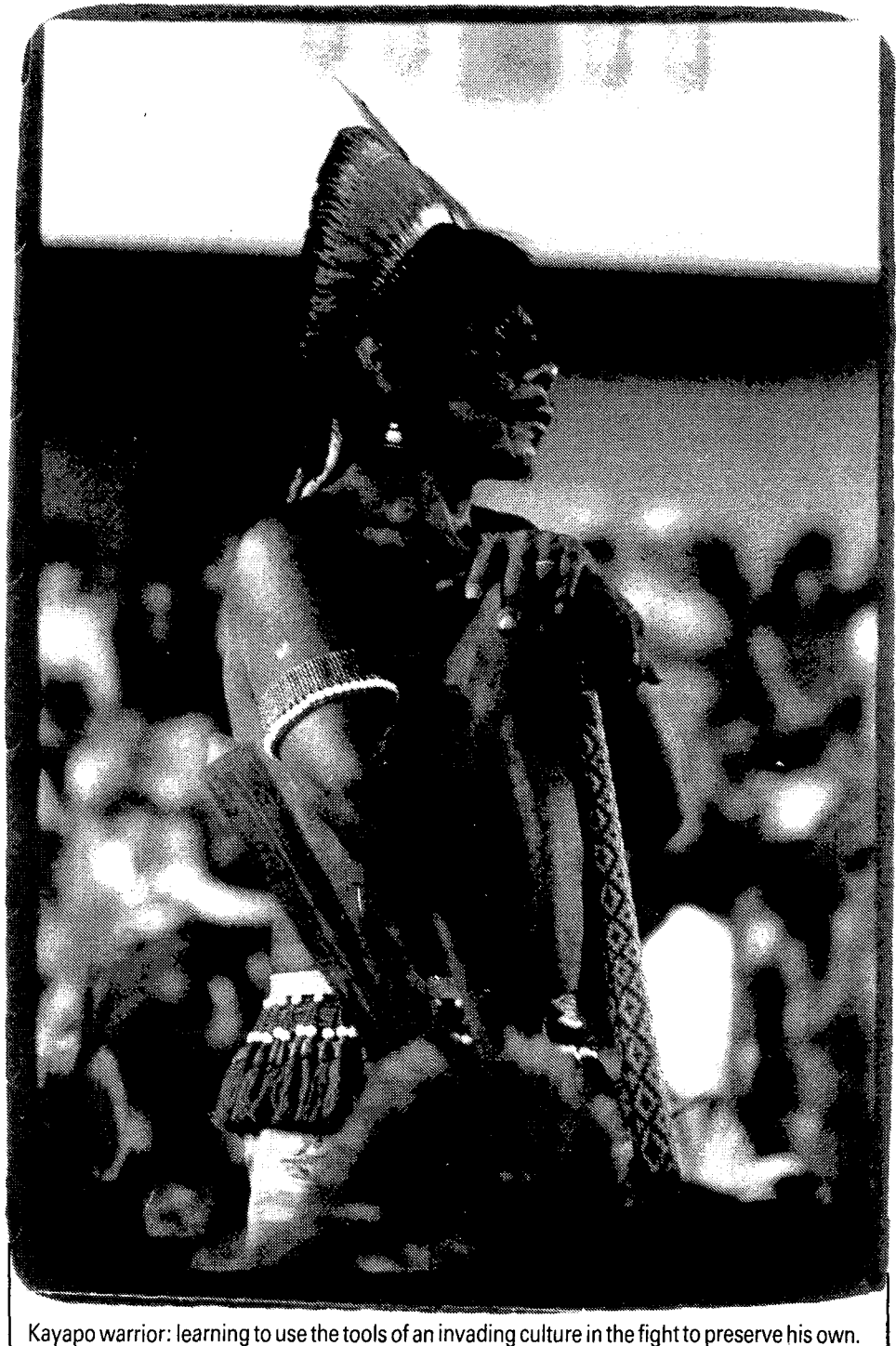
The banks balk: It's the biggest threat the Kayapo have ever faced, and they can't use their traditional weapons to drive it away. So they've taken a leaf from the First World's book: public relations, political organizing and international alliances.

The holdup in dam building that Pino refers to results from the delay of a \$500-million World Bank loan to Brazil's electrical power sector.

The delay—and finally the defeat—of that loan was achieved by the environmental de-



Environmentalists and Indians are trying to keep hydroelectric projects out of Amazonia.



Kayapo warrior: learning to use the tools of an invading culture in the fight to preserve his own.

fense community and was materially aided by the Kayapo and other forest peoples. Even though the loan would not in itself pay for any of the proposed dams—whose projected costs run into the billions of dollars—it clearly countenanced dam construction. It also was to serve as a trigger for additional large sums of capital from commercial banks in Europe and Japan. And by planning to lend to a "sector," the World Bank—over the objections of some of its national directors—would skirt its own tough-sounding policy forbidding support of developments adversely affecting native populations.

For those trying to stop the dams, ammu-

nition was already available. The two lower Xingu dams—Kararao and Babaquara—would flood an area the size of Connecticut, according to the EDF. Add the other three planned Xingu dams, and the inundation would expand to the size of Massachusetts. The 55 other potential Amazon-area dam sites could pond water over forest acreage the size of the remaining New England states plus New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland.

Against all this, the World Bank found that Brazil could meet up to 40 percent of its projected energy needs in the next 20 years by active approaches to conservation. This level of conservation means much more than turn-

ing off light bulbs, says Schwartzman.

"They can install more efficient motors in their industries. They can build more efficient refrigeration. Brazil exports energy-efficient air conditioners, but the ones they sell at home are energy-wasters. The real key is in the industrial sector, where they can use incentives of various kinds," he says.

Spreading the word: The Kayapo played a significant role in putting the necessary pressure on the World Bank's home country directors to block the loan. Aided by funds from environmentalists, Kayapo leaders undertook a high-profile road show. "Paulino Payakan's trip to Europe and Canada was an invaluable catalyst," says Schwartzman. "It helped to set a lot of things off. It was a great contribution to the process [of building international coalition pressure]."

In February, building on their domestic and international actions, the Kayapo opened a

Local observers say that the most valuable thing the Kayapo are winning through their organizing efforts is time.



The wasteland: the scars of development won't fade away.

The World Bank found that Brazil could meet up to 40 percent of its projected energy needs in the next 20 years by active approaches to conservation. But this level of conservation means much more than simply turning off light bulbs.

new battlefield in Brazil. Supported by the Ecumenical Center for Documentation and Information (CEDI), Payakan and other Kayapo leaders convened Amazonia's first pan-tribal conference on forest preservation.

The encampment was held in Altamira, a ramshackle town on the lower Xingu River, near the site of the proposed Kararao dam. Protests by the Kayapo and supporters already had induced Brazilian officials to remove from the funding list Babaquara, a proposed upstream dam that would have flooded a major Kayapo reservation. But few trust the removal.

"Without Babaquara," says Schwartzman, "they'll only be able to realize a very small fraction of the river's potential, which is an intolerable situation for an electric company."

The encampment was both a happening and a success. The Roman Catholic Church,

following its generally progressive policies on such matters, hosted the five-day event on its property. Attending were 800 Indians, representing more than 40 tribes, large and small. Delegates attended from the area's rural workers unions and the National Council of Rubber Tappers unions. There was a memorial service for Chico Mendes, the renowned leader of the rubber tappers who, it is widely believed, was gunned down by ranchers angry at his success in winning protected extractive preserves in the forest, modeled on U.S. Indian reservations, where development would be kept out. Activists from Brazil's environmentalist movement also attended. From North America, the Haida, the Cree and the Lakota Indian peoples were represented. Three supportive members of Brazil's National Assembly also attended.

A representative of President Jose Sarney and officials of Eletronorte, a division of the national utility Eletrobras, were on hand supporting the dams. They were booed. Wire-service photographs of a Kayapo woman brandishing a machete in the face of an Eletronorte official got world attention.

Those in favor of the dams had active support from Altamira's commercial and land-owning elites, plus the bang bang boys. On the first night of the encampment, shots were fired in the air from a pickup truck. On the second day, the town's stores and offices were

closed for a counterdemonstration, and 2,500 people took to the streets in favor of the dams.

It was the Indians, however, who carried the day. "It was an important demonstration of solidarity and created greater credibility for pan-Indian political pressure," says Turner. At the very least, Altamira won them additional power to negotiate future projects.

The conference communique linked the Indians, the rubber tappers and the organized rural workers in opposition to further dam building, the first time that these groups have come together in common purpose. The Altamira conferees left for home with assurances that their backers in the National Assembly will fight for legislative review of the dam-building plans.

Time on their side: The Belo Monte dam



Brazil's children will be the long-term victims of the development craze.

project on the lower Xingu remains on the books, however. "But," says Schwartzman, "the grass-roots alliance that's developing provides a new basis for stepping up the fight against the dams."

Local observers say that the most valuable thing the Indians are winning through their organizing efforts is time. It is time during which alternative energy sources, conservation and better planning can reduce the need for dams, time during which alternative sitings can reduce the impact of the undetermined number of dams that eventually will be built, and time during which a politically powerful environmental protection movement, including the Indians as a major component force, can develop in Brazil.

In the future, says Schwartzman, "the issue will be as broad as Brazil's general development plan." Brazil plans to dam every major Amazon tributary to supply energy for the

south. A shift toward regional power resource development to meet local needs would enable siting of dams where they would have the least possible impact on the environment and indigenous peoples.

"Both the World Bank and Brazil's electrical energy sector seem to have come around to believing that investment in conservation [can offset the need] for investment in new generating capacity," says Schwartzman.

But, eventually, industrial development and population growth will outpace the self-reducing efficiency of conservation. Then, perhaps around the year 2010, dam building will begin in earnest.

"Every dam is going to get a political fight," says Schwartzman.

The Kayapo will be ready.

Steve Turner, brother of anthropologist Terry Turner, is a freelance writer who lives in Santa Cruz, Calif.



Kayapo warriors: "We are already civilized in our own way."

Planting alternative seeds in California

When the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) pushes Brazil to substitute energy conservation for dam building plans, it isn't just a nature-first morality play. In the mid-'70s, EDF proposed conservation as an alternative to the power plant building program of Pacific Gas & Electric (PG&E), California's statewide utility. PG&E supplies energy to a state economy 80 percent the size of Brazil's.

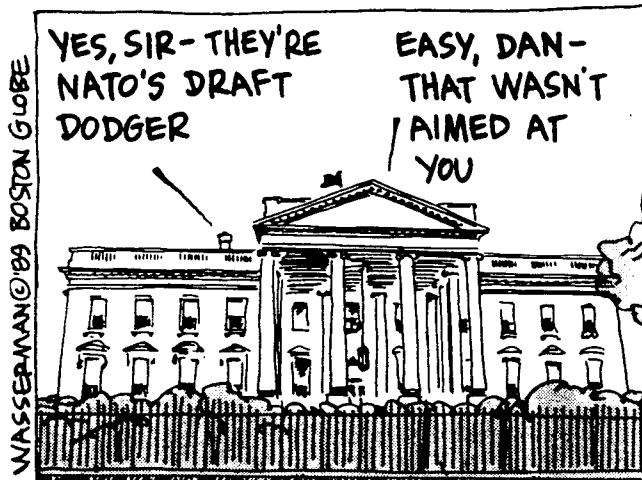
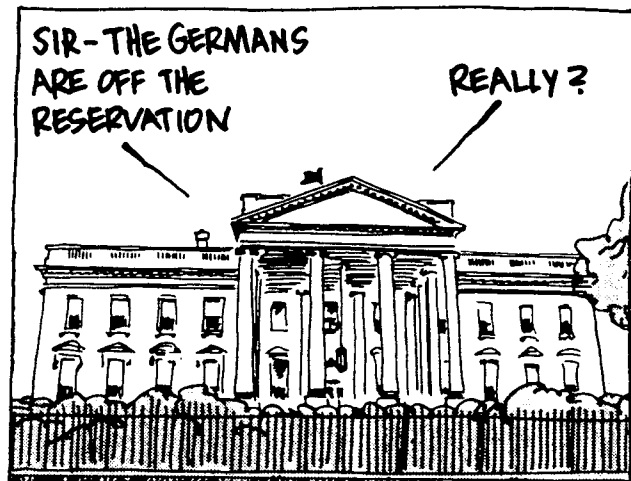
PG&E's first venture in a huge proposed building program would have been an enormous coal-fired plant, dependent upon strip mining with its multiple environmental dangers. Two nuclear plants and eight other coal-fired plants were also planned.

EDF's California office used PG&E's demand projections and financial calculations and put together a model of alternative investments, largely in conservation, but also including alternative sources. The EDF model showed that the utility could meet its projected need through an alternative path. Conservation proposals included incentives to industry, teams to advise homeowners on insulation, low-interest loans for energy-saving changes and similar items.

It took eight years. EDF advised PG&E to forget the environmental issue and look at the economic soundness of the investment. It makes much more sense. EDF eventually won its case. None of those 10 plants has been built.

-S.T.

EDITORIAL



L.A. Times Syndicate

WASSERMAN © 89 BOSTON GLOBE

German peace initiative stirs fear and loathing in Bush administration

Germany, according to angry Bush administration officials, is suffering from an excess of democracy. In opposing modernization of the 88 short-range nuclear missiles located there, and in proposing that the United States negotiate with the Soviet Union for a reduction of battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe, the Bush administration says Chancellor Helmut Kohl is committing the gaffe of playing to West Germany's increasingly anti-nuclear sentiments. This breach of sensibility and good taste won't wash with the Bush gang. "The Germans know what our position is, and if they continue trying to build this up as an issue they are not going to succeed," one Bush man insists.

The reason the administration regularly gives for rejecting Kohl's proposal is wearing thin. The Soviets are said to have a vast superiority of conventional forces in Europe. Negotiations that might lead to the elimination of the "nuclear deterrent" would therefore leave Europe vulnerable to a Soviet invasion. "We must not fall into this dangerous trap," Defense Secretary Dick Cheney says, "because one of the Kremlin's goals remains the denuclearization of Europe. Given this goal, and the perilous circumstances that could follow in its train if it's achieved, the alliance must maintain the will to resist the call."

But the members of the NATO alliance—and especially those on the Continent who would be the victims of a Soviet invasion—are unimpressed by this "peril." Indeed, as Diana Johnstone has pointed out in several recent articles, the Germans believe that short-range nuclear weapons on their soil pose a greater risk. These missiles, Germans say, are the United States' way of limiting war to Europe. In their view, Germany, along with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, would be blown up by short-range missiles in case of war. They fear an exchange of nuclear blasts that would deprive the Soviets of Central Europe but leave Germany in ashes.

So it's no surprise that the vast majority of Germans would prefer to take their chances with a conventional-force Soviet invasion, especially since the risk of such a development is near zero.

That is why neither pressure from the Bush administration nor the rantings and ravings of Britain's Margaret Thatcher have much effect on the Germans—or on most of the other Continental nations. West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was correct last week when he told the German parliament that "the turn of the tide in Euro-

pean international politics is irreversible and unmistakable." Nothing, he added, "is more powerful than an idea whose time has come."

Prussian military theorist Karl von Clausewitz long ago noted that "war is nothing more than the continuation of politics by other means." And since the Soviets have no possible political motive for extending their already unmanageable empire, and every reason for moving in the opposite direction, a Soviet invasion would be unthinkable even if Europe had no military forces, nuclear or conventional. Similarly, neither the United States nor its European allies have anything to gain by invading Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union. The Soviet government knows this, which is why it has unilaterally begun to dismantle its forces in Eastern Europe. And the Bush administration knows it too. It is not the non-existent Soviet threat that has caused Cheney and Secretary of State James Baker so much concern. Rather, it is Kohl's inability to continue the charade.

Clinging to the status quo: Yet Kohl's conversion does present a real problem to the managers of the American empire. It is this: West Germany has much to gain from a peaceful change in the status quo in Europe. To Germans the prospect of an end to the Allied occupation and of rapid growth in trade with the East is most welcome. But the U.S. government fears change. As Stephen S. Szabo, a professor at the National War College explains, "We and the British and French like the status quo in Europe. It has ... managed the German problem and produced a great deal of prosperity for us. We have not exactly suffered from the division of Europe. The Soviets got East Europe. We got West Europe. The Soviets got Poland. We got Germany." On the other hand, as Szabo points out, "if we diminish our military and political role in Europe, it means we will have less leverage on the European Community—right at a time when it is moving toward economic integration in 1992—and we are going to need all the leverage we can muster."

Szabo's "we," however, does not mean the American people, but the corporate managers of the empire. For the American people, it's a different story. We have pretty much the same interests as the German people who forced Kohl to abandon his pro-nuclear Cold War stance. Our government talks endlessly about democracy, but just as it condemns Kohl for finally bowing to the will of his people, so it ignores the desire of most Americans to end the arms race and rearrange our social priorities in order to end chemical and nuclear arms proliferation, protect the global environment and address our domestic social needs.

The impulse to end the squandering of our natural and human resources on a militarized economy that protects nothing but the profits of our corporate rulers is real, at home and abroad. In a democratic society this impulse should respectfully be considered, not derided in what ultimately will prove a vain attempt to cling to the glory days of the American Century.

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein
 Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson
 Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, John B. Judis, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
 Assistant Managing Editors: Miles Harvey, Peter Karman
 Culture Editor: Jeff Reid
 European Editor: Diana Johnstone
 New York Editor: Daniel Lazare
 In Short Editor: Joel Bleifuss
 Copy Editor: Mary Nick-Bisgaard
 Editorial Promotions: Maggie Garb
 Researcher: Joan McGrath
 Interns: Paul Engman, Kira Jones, Jim McNeill, Michele Mozelisio, William Siegel, Ray Walsh

Art Director: Miles DeCoster
 Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan
 Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
 Photo Editor: Paul Comstock
 Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein
 Associate Publisher: Bill Finley
 Co-Business Managers: Louis Hirsch, Finance
 Kevin O'Donnell, Data Processing/Accounting
 Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey
 Office Manager: Theresa Nutall

Circulation Director: Chris D'Arpa
 Assistant Director: Greg Kilbane

Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and non-socialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by the Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700.

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1988 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 for Canada and Mexico; \$67.95 for overseas). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs. Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 12, No. 24) published May 10, 1989, for newsstand sales May 10-16, 1989.

INTERNATIONAL WRITERS UNION

©GOLI

LETTERS

The Rosenbloom file, I

IN RESPONSE TO ERIC ROSENBLOOM'S LETTER (ITT, April 12) referring to unborn infants as non-persons, I would like to point out that Nazi Germany used the same arguments against the Jews. They were non-persons too, and therefore did not have any rights—not even the right to life. Black slaves in the U.S. were also non-persons, and therefore not entitled to rights. Is Rosenbloom's perspective such that when we label people, we are free to do with them what we please? We label people communists so we can hate them. We label people terrorists so we can bomb them. We label people non-persons so they have no rights. It is we who are in power who control the lives of those who are not. It is we who have already been born who control the lives of those who have not. That's the way it is, but is it right?

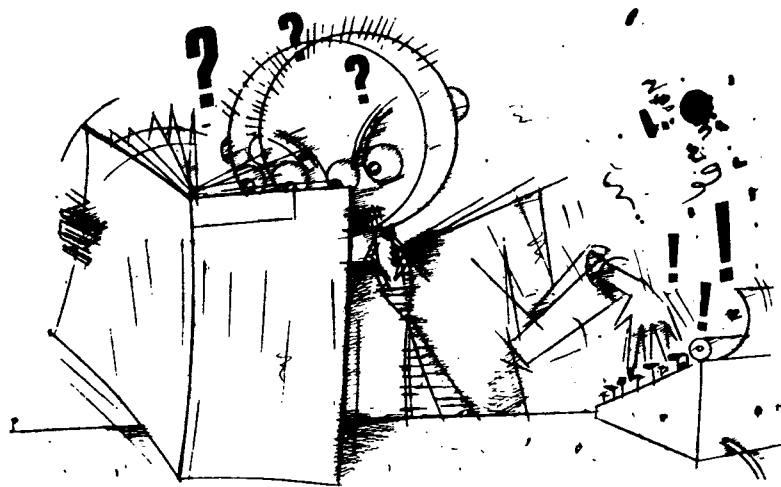
I used to wonder why the pro-life movement referred to abortion as "the silent Holocaust." Now I know why. The pro-abortion people use the same arguments Hitler did. I don't seriously believe the pro-abortion people *want* to kill the children. They just care less about someone's whole life than about the inconvenience of an unplanned pregnancy.

Jim Anthony
Denver, Colo.

II

THREE CHEERS FOR ERIC ROSENBLOOM'S LETTER (ITT, April 12). Rosenbloom is one of the few Americans (and fewer still progressives) who demonstrate even the most basic literacy in constitutional matters. Rosenbloom rightly criticizes *Roe vs. Wade* as the right decision for the wrong reasons, because, instead of writing a narrow decision based in the clear text of the Constitution, the Supreme Court went into its usual intellectual gyrations to base its finding on irrelevant notions of viability, etc. *Roe vs. Wade*'s mind-boggling "logic" in part explains the intense opposition it raises. Judges have become too acclimated to turning the essentially meaningless platitudes in the Constitution like "due process of law," "freedom of speech" and "equal protection under the law" into case law by drawing from the "context of the times" exogenous factors that make the Constitution a "living document." They are so used to engaging in such abominations that they fail to recognize the plain meaning of the words the drafters crafted, which would fully resolve these questions with as beautiful a simplicity as Rosenbloom's brief letter, not tomes of legal mumbo jumbo like *Roe vs. Wade*.

Dino Joseph Drudi
Washington, D.C.



are awakened to reality when nudged by a catastrophe like being fired from a steady job just before retirement and pension benefits are due.

Eleven years ago I took full responsibility for my life when told I'd die of cancer. It enrages me that my government still treats me like a child, making decisions for me and keeping from me facts that might alarm and stir me to action.

I'm fighting to get pesticides out of our food and water. My adversaries are the giant food and chemical industries and the U.S. government. My only tool, my slingshot, is democracy, which in America today gasps for breath in those portions of the media not yet bought out by big business.

Let's start in a way that's possible—demanding the right to citizens' initiative and referendum. Then we can begin building people power by seemingly innocuous increments like legislating tax-free savings and Social Security, moving on to requirements for honest disclosure by government and corporations, along with full culpability for their criminal actions.

Mary Roy
Amherst, N.H.

It's simple

MIKE TIDWELL SPEAKS OF THREE CHOICES IN HIS "D.C.: Death and Cocaine" piece, (ITT, April 12) about drugs and murder on Washington's streets: "Accept the drug situation as it is, declare martial law in our inner cities or legalize drugs. The first two options are unacceptable."

Tidwell adroitly avoids an alternative choice, one which makes sense and which has proven itself in practice. China solved her growing drug problem in a relatively short time: dealers and users were executed on the spot.

Washington and other like cesspools could be cleaned up within a year, with the additional benefit that not only would the users

and the dealers be effectively removed from the scene, but literally thousands of tail-chasing bureaucrats who thrive on the present setup would be forced on the street to seek honest work.

Alex Apostolides
El Paso, Texas

Incompetent

IF JIM WRIGHT COULD DO NO BETTER FOR HIS WIFE than get her a job that paid \$18,000 per annum, he *should* be reprimanded. Look at the good jobs Sen. Robert Dole's wife has gotten. Even Mrs. Bill Gradison, wife of my own district's representative, got a better-paying job. Of course, these Republicans' wives were given *government* jobs, so that is just good, old-fashioned American politics. Certainly the votes of Republican legislators were never influenced by the recognition of their wives' job skills!

Gordon C. Blaha
Cincinnati

Dispensable

CLAIRE SPRAGUE'S REVIEW OF HELENA LEWIS' *The Politics of Surrealism* (ITT, April 12) contains mistakes and seriously misleading claims. Salvador Dali did not replace or fill the loss of Louis Aragon. Dali was associated with the surrealists well before 1930. His association dates back to 1928 at least. Aragon did not break with the surrealists until 1932. Your reviewer would know that if she had read the book under review carefully. The surrealists are not deconstructionists, and they did not and do not deconstruct ideas, popular or not. It is at best misleading to discuss their work in such terms. Wordsworth, Whitman and Shelley may be quite important to mainstream histories of Romantic poetry, but they are not very important to the surrealists, nor to an understanding of surrealist poetry of France.

The reviewer seems, on the whole, to know little about surrealism or its history. This work is hardly "indispensable." In fact,

it contains nothing new. The reviewer does not even notice the marked geographic, cultural and temporal limits of Lewis' book. Further, material here can all be found elsewhere (e.g., Nadeau or Gershman) in as much detail. Worse, there is little analysis in the work. It is not original on any relevant measure. Where the greatest contribution is possible, namely in the exploration of recent surrealist activities and politics, the book is virtually silent. What little is said has been said already elsewhere. It does your readers no good to publish reviews by people who seem to know nothing at all about the subject of the work reviewed.

John Bogart
Arizona State University
Tempe, Ariz.

Claire Sprague replies: *I did not call the surrealists "deconstructionists." The word is never used. "Deconstructions" is used once at the end of the review and perhaps should not have been. However, I did suggest that surrealism and postmodernism are related efforts to destabilize bourgeois verities. I could be criticized for that parallel, but not for one I did not draw.*

Where is there the suggestion that Aragon "replaced" Dali? Aragon and Dali were chosen as examples of "the wide net the movement could cast and how far apart its members could grow."

The writer is picky about dates. Aragon's disaffection with surrealism surfaced in the famous L'Affaire Aragon, which raged from 1930 to 1932. Dali's association with the surrealists became widely known through L'Age d'Or, the film he made with Luis Buñuel in 1930. That date is a choice, not a mistake.

The best response to the charges that the book adds nothing new to the literature about surrealism is that it has received uniformly favorable reviews and that the University of Edinburgh Press will publish it in Britain. As good as Nadeau and Gershman are, they do not cover quite the same ground.

Author's query

FOR A HISTORY OF THE L.M. RABINOWITZ FOUNDATION, Inc., I would like to hear from those who received grants from the foundation between 1960 and 1976. Please write to me with your current mailing address and phone number. If possible, include a copy of your current curriculum vitae and a brief description of the impact, if any, the Rabinowitz Foundation grant had on your work and/or your career. Thank you.

John J. Simon
737 Greenwich Street
New York, N.Y. 10014

Slingshot

BLACKS DEAL CRACK AND KILL EACH OTHER IN U.S. cities. Half a world away, in India, a nation that's a ghetto, acts of spontaneous violence are a daily commonplace. The rage is identical, born of angry frustration at feeling powerless and manipulated.

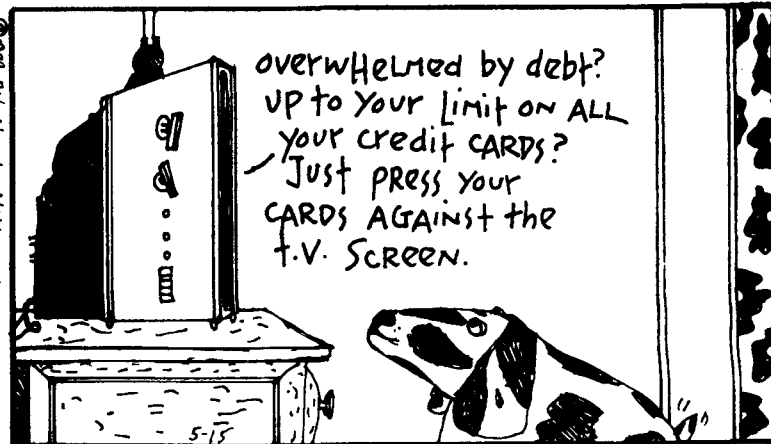
I share that rage. As a member of a small, affluent white community, I have been indoctrinated to be polite and work within the system. My only weapons are words.

Most middle-class Americans, appeased by material comforts, are unaware of their servitude. Some try to control their destiny through religion or self-exploration. A few

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



By Joseph Diescho

NAMIBIA, A TERRITORY THAT HAS BEEN occupied by South Africa since 1915, is the only country in the world over which the United Nations claims full responsibility. There is consensus that South Africa should leave the territory, but how South Africa should relinquish its control has not been resolved. This lack of consensus led to the events that transpired in Namibia a few hours after the cease-fire between South Africa and the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) came into effect on April 1.

Two things are clear. First, South Africa started the fight that has left many people dead—SWAPO combatants as well as civilians in northern Namibia (see story on page 10). It really does not take much to explain why South Africa attacked SWAPO. South Africa has for many decades refused to recognize the right of the Namibian people to elect their representatives. South Africa agreed to the process that would lead to Namibia's independence neither out of free will nor due to a change of heart, but because of political, diplomatic and economic pressures, internal and international. These included the deteriorating situation inside South Africa that led to the current state of emergency and all restrictions, the selective armed struggle by the the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, the disintegration of white electoral cohesiveness in South Africa and the growing ineptness of the National Party government.

The war that SWAPO has waged in Namibia for over 22 years, culminating in the Battle

U.N. helps South Africa keep control of Namibia

of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola, where South Africa was dealt a humiliating military defeat by Angola with the assistance of Cuba's internationalist forces, and the threat of mandatory comprehensive economic sanctions have also been decisive in forcing South Africa to negotiate with Angola, Cuba and the U.S. last year.

The reality is that the choices left to those who want white domination in southern Africa are constantly diminishing. South Africa is not as invincible and intractable as many apologists of apartheid would like us to believe. The defenders of apartheid have begun to appreciate that the days of this system—secure white privilege and unquestioned white supremacy—are numbered. Now the best way to defend apartheid is to make things look different, reformist, thus more complex and confusing.

U.N. in error: As for Namibia, South Africa never wanted to let it go. And the five Western powers of the U.N. Transition Assistance Group (the U.S., Canada, Britain, France and West Germany) have helped South Africa torpedo the original U.N. plan for Namibia's independence. This plan was articulated in U.N. Security Council Resolution 385, which stipulated essentially that South African police and military forces would withdraw so that the U.N. could take over during the period of transition. This made sense. If the

U.N. was to be able to execute its task without hindrance, neither SWAPO nor South Africa should be in charge of law and order. Every juridical system underscores that a party to a dispute cannot be a judge (*nome judex in sua causa*, the Romans intoned judicially). Yet the U.N. has succumbed to South Africa's blackmail by ignoring this basic principle.

Not only has the U.N. gone against its own sentiments by falling short of Resolution 435—which set up the framework for the peace process—and allowing events to deteriorate in Namibia, but it has also forgotten the problem it was trying to resolve, namely to free Namibia from South Africa. Namibia's independence has been stalled for more than 10 years due to the refusal of South Africa and the U.S. to implement the U.N. plan, and the U.N. has appeased South Africa by playing a secondary role in the process. Why did U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar accept the Western compromise that South Africa be in charge of Namibia, when South Africa is the problem? Did not the U.N. declare South Africa's presence in Namibia illegal in 1969, and recognize SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people in 1973? Since then the U.N. has cooperated with SWAPO and treated South Africa as a pariah. Then when, how and why did the U.N. turn around and begin working in tandem with South Africa? The question many Namibians ask is this: if the U.N. is working with South Africa, then from whose occupation is Namibia to be freed?

Not only has the U.N. ignored the aspirations of the people whom it had been ready to help, but clearly it has turned a deaf ear to the pleas of the Frontline States of Southern Africa, the Organization of African Unity and many nations across the world sympathetic to the Namibians and their plight. The U.N. has chosen to collaborate with South Africa to wage a war of terror against those who have waited for decades for the U.N. to supervise a free and fair election toward independence.

Trying to conform: Reports from reliable sources in Namibia, including church leaders, lawyers, students and eyewitnesses, indicate that South Africa attacked SWAPO soldiers last month as the Namibian troops were trying to find the U.N. peacekeeping forces to whom they were to surrender themselves and their arms in the spirit of the formal cessation of hostilities.

Even if there was no infiltration by SWAPO guerrillas into Namibia from Angola, hundreds of guerrillas inside Namibia have been waging guerrilla war against South Africa for more than 22 years. Their presence alone could constitute adequate provocation so that South Africa could either justify attacking them or threaten to suspend the whole U.N. process—or both, as is the case now. There is also a long history that shows how South African officials would take advantage of any situation to prevent SWAPO from coming to power. South African officials have a deep-seated hatred of SWAPO, and South Africa has succeeded in casting doubt on SWAPO by tak-

ing advantage of the confusion around the two guideline agreements for Namibia's independence in 1990 (U.N. Resolution 435 and the Angola-Cuba-South Africa Agreement of Dec. 22, 1988).

The U.N. was not prepared to make provision for the immediate confinement to base of the SWAPO soldiers in Namibia at the time of the cease-fire. Worse, there were no U.N. peacekeeping forces in the northern Namibia war zone. The SWAPO soldiers were victims of a situation for which the U.N. secretary-general and his special representative in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, should take responsibility.

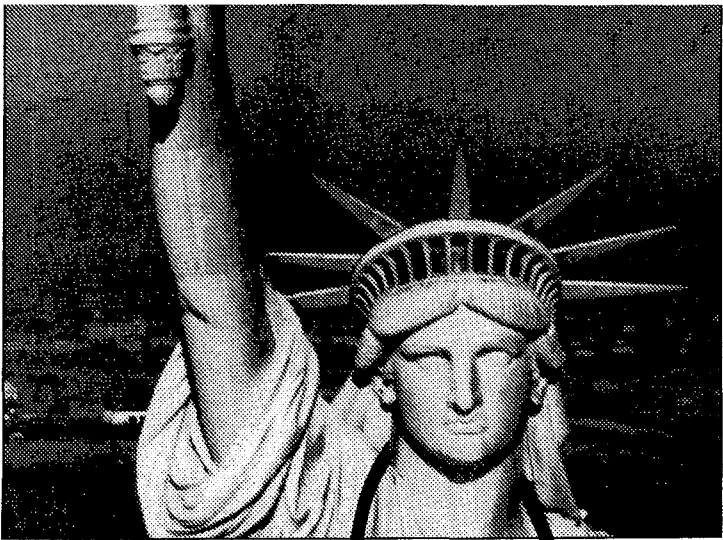
Two agreements: The protocols signed among Angola, Cuba and South Africa last December have been described as a tripartite agreement and nothing more. SWAPO is not a party to these agreements and therefore could not violate them. SWAPO did honor the agreement with the U.N. and was looking for the U.N. peacekeeping forces, without intent to fight, when it was attacked, even though it was incumbent upon South Africa to report SWAPO's incursion to the U.N. and not fire any shots.

If such an incursion was reported by South Africa to the U.N., the U.N. was obligated to investigate quickly and to keep SWAPO and South Africa from attacking one another. Instead, South Africa fired shots without involving the U.N., and later the U.N. authorized South Africa to reactivate its military and police to restore law and order. South Africa's idea of law and order was to shoot to kill SWAPO soldiers and innocent civilians in the presence and with the acquiescence of the U.N. officials.

Since the conflict started on April 1, many Namibians have come out and said that they tried several times to contact the U.N. The U.N. told them that there was nothing they could do about it and that it was for South Africa to restore law and order. At the time of the cease-fire and when the conflict erupted, less than one-quarter of the U.N. peacekeeping force had arrived in Namibia, and those troops were not even in the war zone.

As a result, many people wearing SWAPO T-shirts to celebrate the commencement of the peaceful transition were beaten and injured throughout the country by the South African police and soldiers maintaining law and order. If anything, this is a serious indictment of the U.N. Security Council and the special representative in Namibia who authorized the killings. SWAPO has never been the problem in Namibia, and the U.N. and the Western media should know this. They should stop blaming the victim for the offense of the real culprit. If the U.N. is to restore confidence in Namibia and show that it is not assisting South Africa to kill Namibian people, the U.N. secretary-general should come clean: accept responsibility, apologize formally to the Namibian people and see that his special representative in Namibia is recalled so that the process can be placed back on track in the spirit of the Mount Etjo Declaration that was signed on April 9 by Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with the U.S. and the Soviet Union acting as observers.

Joseph Diescho is a Namibian Fulbright scholar at Columbia University in New York City, an analyst of Namibian politics and the author of the book *Born of the Sun: A Namibian Novel*.



OUT TO LUNCH

LIBERTY AT WORK

EXPANDING THE RIGHTS OF EMPLOYEES IN AMERICA

Essays on the threat to workers' rights posed by new technologies, concerns about drug abuse and AIDS, and various employment poli-

**AN
ACLU
PUBLIC
POLICY
REPORT**

cies. How to protect privacy, free speech and due process on the job is the challenge of the 1990s. The ACLU has joined the debate.

Orders must be prepaid. Send \$3.95, plus \$1.00 for shipping and handling, to Jean Grove, ACLU, 132 West 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.

Name _____

Address _____

American Civil Liberties Union

Nahhalin: From March 1954 to April 1989

The tendency of journalists, as I suggested here a couple of weeks ago, is to describe the world in terms of either disaster or normalcy, without acknowledging that very often the former is merely a symbolic extension of the latter. Consider in this light the recent Israeli attack on the village of Nahhalin, a Palestinian village on the West Bank, some 10 miles from Bethlehem.

The predawn attack, launched at 4 a.m. on April 13 by hundreds of Israeli soldiers, left five Palestinians dead, many injured, and much livestock and property destroyed. Now in recent months U.S. coverage of the *intifada* has tended to take many things as "normal"—savage beatings that leave limbs broken, prolonged imprisonment in horrifying conditions without charges or trial—that a year ago were regarded as worthy of front-page coverage. The same has been true in South Africa, where a thoroughly docile U.S. press mostly follows the agenda of South African authorities, as for example in the coverage of the supposed SWAPO "invasion" of Namibia from Angola at the start of April (see pages 10 and 16).

The attack on Nahhalin did make the front pages, with some careful sanitizing, as we shall see. What almost all the reports did not mention is that murderous armed assault by Israeli troops is nothing new in Nahhalin's history. Thirty-five years and two weeks before the attack this spring, on March 29, 1954, Israeli troops attacked Nahhalin in the night hours. At the time, the population of the village stood at 300 (it has now risen to 4,500) and the village itself was in Jordan. When the troops withdrew, nine villagers lay dead and others critically wounded from an attack conducted with mines, grenades, automatic weapons and Molotov cocktail firebombs.

The way it was: The background to the attack was this. Since 1949 Israel, over the heated protests of the Israeli-Jordanian Mixed Armistice Commission, had been steadily encroaching on demilitarized zones around its new territory. The aim in the south, toward the Gaza Strip, was simply to acquire more land and to prepare for the ultimate attack on Egypt, to which end a large number of tribespeople, Bedouin Azazma and others, were driven from their land. A group of Bedouin organized retaliatory terror, including a bloody assault on a bus that left Israeli civilians dead. In further "retaliation" the Israelis attacked Nahhalin. I put quotation marks around retaliation here because Nahhalin, in Jordan, had no remote connection with the Bedouin, nor with any of the previous attacks.

It is not often that one can compare what a journalist actually wrote with what got printed in the newspaper—unless, that is, the journalist is old enough, rich enough, or sufficiently pissed off not to care about offending the relevant previous (or in very rare cases, present) employer. The *New York Times* correspondent covering the 1954 assault on Nahhalin was Kennett Love, a man I know and have come to esteem. Love has kept, over the years, his original dispatches, and one can compare what he wrote with what got printed.

The *Times*' front-page story for March 30, 1954, was not too bad, because Love had

filed such a detailed report that it probably presented his editors with a simple either/or on whether to suppress the whole thing. But the front-page single-column headline did perform a careful act of distancing. Love's report had in its fifth paragraph details attributed to U.N. observers, about bullets and shell casings marked with the Star of David and with Hebrew writing, and also a quote from Gen. John Glubb, British commander of Jordan's Arab Legion, to the effect that "the attack was well-planned and carried out by regular Israeli armed forces," but the three-line headline ran, "9 Slain in Jordan In Raid on Village: Israelis Blamed." Thus the attribution of responsibility is speculative.

(For historical interest, I should say that the adjacent main headline was announcing the start of the U.S. war in Vietnam: "Dulles Asks Unity To Block Red Rule/In Southeast Asia." James Reston's report began with the fateful words, "The Eisenhower administration has taken a fundamental policy decision to block the Communist conquest of Southeast Asia even if it has to take 'united action' with France and other countries to do so.")

Even so, Love's editors back in New York suppressed many of his details of Israeli threats against the chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission, and also his report that the chairman, U.S. Navy Cmdr. Elmo H. Hutchinson, had postponed a commission meeting "after his notification to Israeli delegation returned unopened with notation quoted unacceptable written across front." (Love's dispatches were in foreign correspondent's cable-ese, abbreviated to save money.) Similarly deleted were reactions from Jerusalem concerning the irrationality of an attack on Nahhalin in revenge for the terror assault in the Negev. The *New York* editors also removed two separate instances where Love reported witnesses saying that they heard the intruders speaking Hebrew and other unknown languages.

Love was reproached by his editors for "over-filing," meaning that he supplied too many details which were simply dropped, particularly when they detailed the violence of the attack, as in this suppressed passage: "she [the widow of a victim of the assault] said attackers had blown in orchard door with explosives ... she said they spoke Hebrew and other languages she knew ... while she and children huddled on floor two intruders sprayed room with machine guns."

A particularly notable distortion by the *New York Times*' editors involved the removal of a paragraph where Love noted, "Israeli Premier Moshe Sharett reported by Israeli radio tonight to have admitted attack outcarried by Israelis but denied regular troops involved." This was deleted, and instead the *Times* printed below Love's dispatch a piece by Harry Gilroy from the Israeli side of the border beginning, "Premier Moshe Sharett declared today that he had no direct knowledge of a reported killing of nine Jordanians at Nahhalin," and that it sounded like "a local affair" and was probably "exaggerated."

Love says now that the treatment from his editors, Emanuel Freedman and Nathaniel Gerstenzang, was "touchy and suspicious." He was criticized for calling the attackers "military units," and "Gersten-

zang didn't want to hear anything bad about the Israelis...there were so many things they refused to print and I was constantly accused of being one-sided. You had to document beyond belief." After reporting one Israeli attack in nearby Husan, Love, under challenge, went so far as to offer to send to New York "cartridge shells, bits of field dressing, a label on a dynamite pack." He also offered to get and send home a blood sample, since it was suggested that the stains might have come from the crafty "victims" throwing ox blood around.

Some things never change. In 1954 and again in 1989 the *New York Times* left out key details in its coverage of Israeli raids on a West Bank village.

The way it is: Come now to the attack of April 13, 1989, in which five were killed. In its account, the Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights notes, "Like other Palestinian villages, residents of Nahhalin have always taken a strong stand against the occupation and for a Palestinian state." Before April 13, Israeli border guards had tried to infiltrate the village on several occasions, only to be repelled by the villagers. Harassment became acute in the week leading up to the attack, according to the database, with border guards using loudspeakers to curse and issue sexually violent threats against women who were identified by their clothing and abused directly. The day before the massacre, border guards started dropping their pants when women walked past.

As in 1954, the assault came from a number of directions, with snipers posted to prevent villagers from escaping. One band of troops opened fire when they reached the first house belonging to Hasan Mustafa (whose grandfather had been killed in the 1954 raid). They discharged at least 50 rounds through the house's windows; shot at everything that moved, killing many animals including dogs, donkeys, sheep and rabbits; rounded people up and beat them in front of their parents and small children; and destroyed cars and shot at some people inside their houses.

As the database reports, Nahhalin villagers described the assault as the worst they had experienced in the occupation, comparing it to German Nazi abuses inflicted on Russian villagers. In one incident reported by the database, "They lifted a 14-year-old paraplegic youth, Jamil Mahmud Ahmad Najajri, crippled from birth, from his chair and threw him on the ground. He cannot now move his hands and fingers, which he needs to ambulate his wheelchair." Villagers had risen early because it was Ramadan, and were preparing for prayer or actually praying.

The *New York Times* article for April 14 was headed "Israelis Kill 5 in West Bank Village In One of Highest Tolls of Uprising." Joel Brinkley's dispatch opened with a careful emphasis: "Israeli border policemen shot and killed at least five and possibly as many as seven Palestinians today after they

were attacked by stone-throwing youths during a pre-dawn raid on this village." The insinuation, one zealously fostered by Gen. Amram Mitzna, the senior Israel commander on the West Bank, is that the border guards fired in defense against what Mitzna called "the violent attacks of the villagers."

Brinkley (or his editor) was careful to use the word "incident" to describe the attack and shooting deaths, with the term "massacre" being attributed to hospital attendants. The account of the circumstances of the raid—attempted arrest of stone-throwing youths; border guards surrounded by hostile crowds and firing in panic—is utterly at variance with the detailed database account, which describes the mass assault and the circumstances of the deaths, four of them caused by the border guards firing down from the roof of a house. As in the case of Love's published report, Brinkley's does not include much detail—perhaps he never sent any—of a sort readers might find overly discomfiting.

The way it isn't: A great issue was made by Brinkley, and subsequently by columnist Anthony Lewis and by Martin Peretz, editor in chief of *The New Republic*, that the attack was carried out by "border guards" or "border policemen," many of whom are "Arab-speaking Druse." Peretz, a degraded apologist for Israeli policies, went so far as to write in his *New Republic* column for May 8 (in which he also had an attack on me as an apologist for Stalin, since I had said in *The Nation* that Stalin was responsible for the deaths of some 5 million in the '30s), "When these units...are deployed, ancient rancors come into play without the full mediating discipline of a Western code of arms." In other words, the wogs hate each other; the Arabs did it; what can you expect of these uncivilized brutes? Anthony Lewis more decorously hinted at the same thing in his column.

This leaves readers presumably wondering what part has been played in the deaths at Israeli hands of the several hundred other victims of the *intifada* by the "full mediating discipline of a Western code of arms." Of course the excuse that these were Arab border guards out of control is ludicrous. The officers are Israeli Jews, just as other thugs of empire—Gurkhas under the British, Koevoet under South Africans—are troops trained for savagery by the sponsoring power, which is properly held responsible for what they do.

So much for the dead of Nahhalin. But there is a crisis for Israel here, undiscussed by Brinkley, Peretz or Lewis, but certainly a topic in the Israeli press. Israeli military analysts, such as Martin van Creveld in the *Jerusalem Post*, are becoming worried that suppression of the *intifada* is rapidly degrading the Israeli armed forces, rendering them into bullying thugs unfit for real war. The analogy here is with the Argentinian troops who were expert at killing civilians in the late '70s, but who crumbled when faced with trained British troops in the Falklands war. The second crisis is that more and more soldiers are becoming disillusioned with what is going on in the Occupied Territories; the number of refuseniks is growing and many members of *Yesh Gvul* (the refuseniks' movement) are not being prosecuted for refusing to serve in the suppression of the *intifada*. This at least might comfort the survivors of those two attacks on Nahhalin, 35 years apart. ■

This column was prepared with the help of Rich McKerrow.

Distributed by the L.A. Weekly.

From Russia with lit: Ardis takes the word two ways

By Harvey Pekar

UNDER MIKHAIL GORBACHOV we may again see the USSR become a major literary nation. According to Ellendea Proffer of Ardis, America's leading publisher of Russian books, a "mini-revolution," a "major loosening of controls" on Soviet writers, has occurred.

LITERATURE

Proffer recently returned from a business trip to Moscow, during which she sought to acquire rights to USSR-published material and Soviet officials tried to buy Russian literature from her. Ardis' up-and-down relationship with the USSR is currently quite cordial.

Ardis was founded in 1971 by Proffer, with her late husband Carl, a Russian literature professor at the University of Michigan. In the late '60s they had traveled to the USSR and developed enthusiasm for Russian writing of the 1900-1935 era—magnificent modernist fiction and poetry suppressed so quickly that not much was translated and circulated outside the USSR. Consequently, great



An Ardis artist: modern Russian literary master Andrei Bely

literary innovators, including Andrei Bely and Velimir Khlebnikov, are barely known in the West.

The Proffers printed this literature, in English and Russian. They also published Vladimir Nabokov in Russian. Because Nabokov was an out-

of-favor émigré, his novels had not previously been available in the USSR, and Ardis editions of his works were in great demand. Ardis also published young Russian writers. One of the company's greatest achievements was to issue Sasha

Sokolov's brilliant novel *A School for Fools*.

Anti-Soviet bake shop: Their involvement with dissident authors, however, got them barred from the USSR. In 1979 they printed *Metropol*, an unauthorized edition of the works of leading Soviet experimental writers. Ardis was labeled an "anti-Soviet bake shop" by government spokesmen and prohibited

Some experimental writers were not banished from history. Their works, available in libraries, offered young writers alternatives to the prevailing aesthetic, socialist realism.

from doing business in the USSR until 1987. Even then some of Ardis' more controversial titles were confiscated at a Moscow book fair.

After her stay in the USSR this year, however, Proffer was enthusiastic. The Soviets were "very positive, very friendly." They were claiming literature by émigrés such as Sokolov, Nabokov and Vladimir Voinovich as "part of their culture,"

rushing into print with long-suppressed works, including Evgeny Zamyatin's anti-utopian futurist novel *We*, and material by Mikhail Bulgakov and Andrei Platonov (men who were severely harassed by censors during their lives). In 1986 Ardis issued an excellent edition of Bely's *Petersburg*, one of this century's greatest novels.

Proffer pointed out that Soviet politicians haven't been as hostile to Bely and Khlebnikov—perhaps the most modern Russian literary stylists ("decadent formalists")—as toward younger, more conventional émigré writers, including Nabokov, (who is pretty traditional, compared to Bely).

Bely and Khlebnikov came to the fore prior to the revolution. Their "art for art's sake" attitude was viewed with a degree of tolerance by Soviet officials. Younger writers who emigrated, such as Zamyatin, once a Bolshevik and a naval engineer as well as author, were, however, considered traitors.

Some experimental writers, including Bely and Khlebnikov, though diminished in stature, were not banished from history. Their works remained available in libraries and offered young Soviet writers alternatives to socialist realism, the officially endorsed aesthetic philosophy.

Currently, Proffer noted, "the entrepreneurial spirit is exploding" in the USSR. People approached her enthusiastically with ideas for publishing projects, but the dollars needed to implement them weren't available. Were Gorbachov and his allies pushing for reform simply because their economy was in such bad shape? Proffer believes that the desire for a freer, more democratic society has genuine and widespread support from Soviet political leaders. Nevertheless, continuing the climate of openness clearly depends on increased productivity and an improved standard of living.

Asked if émigrés like Sokolov might someday return to the USSR to live, Proffer was dubious. In the West, she remarked, "society is not against you at every step." Although she doesn't doubt Gorbachov's sincerity or dedication to improving the lives of Soviet citizens, she believes the difficulty and uncertainty of life in Russia will cause émigrés to remain in the West.

The Soviets still have a long way to go. On March 20 it was reported that a small uncontroversial and therefore unsupervised Moscow journal, *Twentieth Century and Peace*, had run Alexander Solzhenitsyn's essay, "Live Not by Lies." His writing hadn't been printed in that city since the '60s. Shortly after publication the magazine was required, for the first time in two years, to submit articles to a censor prior to publication.

Harvey Pekar is the author of *American Splendor* comics.

Glasnost opens the door for modernist Russian literary experiments

From the mid-'30s to the late '50s, virtually all the prose fiction and poetry published in the USSR was innocuous or conformed to the principles of socialist realism, which called for writers to implicitly or explicitly support the Soviet government and those who ran it. At that time Russian literature reached its nadir, the relatively liberal early rule of Nikita Khrushchev resulted in a literary renaissance centered around 1949 and led by among others Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Valentin Rasputin, Yuri Daniel, and Andrei Sinyavsky. Writers began going works unpublished in the USSR found abroad. All were political dissidents and in later two were expelled from conventional Soviet prose styles. Despite the subsequent repression of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, many other Russian writers exposed to this work have developed original and modern styles.

Among the most celebrated is Vasily Aksyonov, who some consider the best contemporary Russian fiction writer. Aksyonov is a lover of things Western. His early novels were strongly influenced by the beatniks. Later he absorbed influences from West-

ern and probably early Soviet experimental authors. Like Thomas Pynchon, another eclectic who does a ragged job of blending his stylistic elements, Aksyonov seems intent on impressing readers with his hipness. He's done that; even a silly espionage novel, *The Island of Crimea*, got him critical raves.

But Aksyonov, who left the USSR in 1980, deserves credit for exposing other Russian authors to contemporary literary techniques rarely employed in the USSR. Critics generally consider Aksyonov's *The Burn* (1978) his major work.

Venedict Erofeev's *Moscow Circles* (completed in 1969) deserves much more credit and attention than it has gotten. Erofeev begins the novel with an informal, first-person narrative. Erofeev's protagonist celebrates his drunkenness and irresponsibility and wanders onto a train headed for the Moscow suburb Petushki. Enroute he begins drinking with several fellow passengers, and slowly the tone of the book changes from cheerfully absurd to nightmarishly surreal.

Erofeev, a deceptively artful writer, frequently employs free association and constructs his

book in a delightfully idiosyncratic way that has precedents in the works of Laurence Sterne and Machado de Assis, but few others.

The Queue (published in France in 1985 and in the U.S. in 1988 by Readers International) got its author, Vladimir Sorokin, denounced in the USSR, but, significantly, he was not imprisoned—as Daniel and Sinyavsky had been 20 years earlier.

The novel consists solely of unattributed dialogue, the protagonist being a man who spends days and nights in a queue, getting involved with two women while waiting to purchase a product that is never identified. Sorokin's unusual page layouts link him with Bely. Sometimes the dialogue is set up in two vertical columns per page. Sorokin also employs blank pages when his hero sleeps.

Boris Vakhtin, Vladimir Maramzin and Sasha Sokolov also employ avant-garde techniques. A volume containing the late Vakhtin's novellas "The Sheepskin Coat" and "An Absolutely Happy Village" is being prepared by Ardis for publication. Relaxed

and informal but an excellent technician, Vakhtin was a satirist who could also write with unsentimental lyricism. He employed both realistic and fantastic effects and free association, or "progression by digression."

Only a few of Maramzin's pieces are available in English, possibly because he is so difficult to translate. His convoluted syntax and non-standard word use make some of his stories reminiscent of Gertrude Stein. Maramzin's sentences dart everywhere, and he sometimes leaves anticipated words out so they read like shorthand.

Sokolov left the USSR for Canada. *A School for Fools* is the only one of his three novels to be published in English. The second has been called untranslatable; the third, *Astrophobia*, will be released in August by Grove Press.

A School for Fools is one of the greatest 20th-century Russian novels. The central figure, who's been a student at a school for the mentally ill and retarded, narrates history in flashbacks, some of which are recalled dreams and hallucinations. It's a tender, poetic tour de force.

—H.P.

A Turn in the South

By V.S. Naipaul

Alfred A. Knopf, 307 pp., \$18.95

By Mab Segrest

VS. NAIPAUL'S *TURN IN THE South*, the careful observations of an Indian novelist born in Trinidad, provides a fresh look at the much poked into subject of the American South. Unlike such treatments as North Carolina's W.E. Cash's *Mind of the South* or Georgian Lillian Smith's *Letters of the Dream*, *A Turn in the South* is not an insider's anguished examination, but is rather a travel book, an outsider's jaunt through the former slave states, with the strengths and weaknesses of that peripatetic genre.

Beginning in North Carolina, Naipaul travels to Atlanta, Charleston, Tallahassee, Tuskegee, Jackson and Nashville, and back to North Carolina. He interviews nearly 50 people in the process—black and white politicians, catfish farmers, newspaper men, Nissan workers, writers and lots of preachers. His good questions and respectful ear yield interviews full of insight into a range of Southern characters.

A complicated past: From the onset, Naipaul carefully colors his point of view. He begins his trip with Howard, a black friend from New York who comes "home to Mama" at Easter. He meets Howard's mother, Hetty, and her family, gathered for the holiday. Hetty tells him how "white people had been good to her." Naipaul carefully weighs that against information that her father sharecropped on a white farm in order to feed his family, and Naipaul "[begins] to understand how necessary it was for Hetty to define people in the way she did," the necessities of race and power. At their church he is surprised by "the formality and the idea of community" he finds. "It was a richer and more complicated past than I had imagined, and physically more beautiful."

After he has established this third eye, neither white nor black, but colored, Naipaul brings us back around to the origins of his project: the Republican National Convention in Dallas in 1984, his first time in the South. At the convention, the flags of the older states at the back of the hall remind him of the British colonial flag he knew as a child in Trinidad. It occurred to him that Trinidad, a former British colony (from 1797) and an agricultural slave colony (until 1833, when slavery was abolished by the British Empire), would have a lot in common with the old slave states of the Southeast. He decided on a new book, "travel on a theme."

It is this comparison with other slave societies that gives *A Turn in the South* its narrative promise of a more global look at a region treated usually in isolation, not only from the rest of the world but even from the U.S.—Faulkner's mythic "post-

Naipaul swerves into the South

age stamp of native soil." Such comparisons illuminate the Southern landscape in surprising ways: oaks in Charleston "the same shape and spread of saman trees in Central America," which were introduced there and in Malaysia as shade for crops, so that tropical plantations and colonies in the imperial time acquired a similar look.

Against this backdrop the historical comparisons leap out. For instance, when Naipaul meets Marvin Arrington, president of the Atlanta City Council, he is struck by his "rage and spikiness." City politics in the U.S., he reflects, give black politicians "position without power"—Arrington's city is encircled by the "wealth of true power of white Atlanta." Caribbean politicians, on the other hand, have a chance to "overthrow an old system and set something in its place."

Truce with irrationality: Naipaul explains that the Spanish decided to open Trinidad up to become a slave sugar colony, promising free land to any Catholics with a certain number of slaves. Some French immigrants had threatened to bring their slaves to the Carolinas instead to get a better bargain. "And how strange to reflect that the black people of Trinidad I grew up among

V.S. Naipaul's *A Turn in the South* promises a more global look at a region usually treated in isolation, not only from the rest of the world but also from the rest of the U.S.

might, with another twist, have been born in the Carolinas and might have had an entirely different history."

Naipaul had said he "quickly worked out the race issue." It seems to be in the sections on the "truce

TRAVEL

with irrationality" in Tallahassee and Tuskegee that he does so, but in problematic ways. "There could be no easy movement forward for the mass," he writes of blacks in the South, in contrast to blacks in the Caribbean who were freed earlier and formed majorities on their islands. "[Southern blacks] had lived through too much; the irrationality of slavery and the years after slavery had made many irrational and self-destructive." It is here that a basic flaw emerges in Naipaul's point of view. Even though he breaks the geographic isolation usually enshrouding the South, he has remained absorbed in the past, without pursuing clearly enough the continuities of the economics of slavery with contemporary racism.

If "there is no easy movement forward for the mass" of U.S. blacks, this stems from continuing impediments of racism at least as much as from the self-destructiveness of some members of the race from internal oppression. If he sees the '80s as "what should have been a time of possibility," he has not taken into account the Reagan years and the backlash to the "black freedom" that he says arrived in 1954. At this point we recall the origin of this journey in Reagan's second nomination to the presidency, an event on whose relevance to the question of race Naipaul never comments.

Once the race question is "settled," Naipaul moves into what he sees as his real thesis, the exploration of the role of "order and faith, music and melancholy" in a region he finds unusual for the number of people "so driven by the idea of

good behavior and the good religious life." In Jackson, Nashville and North Carolina, he limits his interviews mostly to white people (although, as always, asking probing and penetrating questions about race). In fact, a quick census of his interviewees shows that 31 were white and 17 black (and of the 48, only 11 were women).

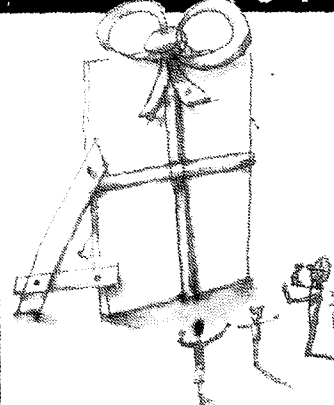
Naipaul finds the resolution to his "travel on a theme" in interviews with "Jesseocrat" Barry McCarty, fundamentalist professor in Elizabeth City, N.C., and Duke professor and poet James Appelwhite. While Appelwhite's "imaginative, poetic resolution" of his relationship to the past is quite prefer-

able to McCarty's fundamentalist desire to recreate the past politically, both men are a long way from the world of Hetty and Howard, where the story began.

It is the white poet's transcendent memories of the past that offer the vision at the end of the book. Naipaul's "turn in the South" has been a turn away from Howard and Hetty, a turn away from the future, and a turn toward religion to "save" his narrative from the forces of race he set out to explore. ■

Mab Segrest is a North Carolina anti-Ku Klux Klan organizer and author of the book *My Mama's Dead Squirrel: Lesbian Essays on Southern Culture*.

NOTEBOOK



All Consuming Images

By Stuart Ewen

Basic Books, 306 pp., \$19.95

In his latest look at contemporary culture and consciousness, *All Consuming Images*, Stuart Ewen delves into the seemingly simple concept of style and discovers that there's far more there than meets the eye. Starting with the premise that "the primacy of style over substance has become the normative consciousness," Ewen goes on to discuss how and why this has come about, in every sphere from architecture to politics.

As in his first book, *Captains of Consciousness*, which focused on advertising and the development of consumer culture, Ewen combines thorough economic and historic research with quotes from trade journals and lively analysis of ads. He helps us take a second look at consuming images so pervasive that they go almost unnoticed. Using well-

documented examples, such as the development of suburbia and the appropriation of counterculture movements by the advertising industry, the author shows that style has become a substitute for factual information.

Ewen also explains how style became institutionalized as an essential tool for selling the notion of democracy, free choice and unlimited possibility in a postmodern world where work—as well as leisure time—is characterized by conformity and control. In postmodern, "information age" America, where little is made except money and waste, most jobs have the same surface quality as the images used to sell trucks, junk food and covert wars in the Third World.

Ewen's book is a much-needed addition to the currently available analyses of contemporary culture. But it could have been improved if Ewen had included some examples of efforts by artists and activists to combat the onslaught of consuming images. Instead, he concludes the book by saying that things have gotten so bad, there probably can be no turning back. Reading that dire prediction in Ewen's otherwise fine book, we might decide to cheer ourselves up by following the popular adage, "When the going gets tough, the tough go shopping."

—Patty Somlo

IN THESE TIMES

Glasnost satire bubbles up from underground

By Joel Schechter

WHO BUT A SATIRIST WOULD object to the new freedom of expression that has entered Russian theaters? During a recent visit to Moscow and Leningrad with a group of stage performers and writers, I found most were delighted by the

THEATER

open discussion Gorbachov's policies allow. But one puppeteer told of a new Leningrad production of Aristophanes' satire *The Frogs* in which an actor asks the audience: "Why have you come here tonight? In the past someone could report you." Now that the risks of satirizing authority have diminished, the need for satire was being questioned. The actor concluded that he would perform *The Frogs* anyway, despite the fact that almost everything can now be said on stage.

Even the Politburo seems to appreciate satire now, judging from the response it gave one sketch last June about the unequal distribution of privilege in Soviet society. According to the performers in the group Panopticon, Gorbachov and all but one of his colleagues laughed at a comic sketch (which the group restaged for me) that showed an ordinary blue-collar worker at an airport receiving the fanfare usually reserved for the elite. Panopticon, composed of steelworkers and acting students, also sang a ditty about Moscow food shortages. The "M" in Moscow stands for meat, its other letters for vegetables, sausage and steaks, in this paean to an imaginary city of plenty.

Jokes about privilege and food shortages also appeared in rhymed couplets sung by the clowns of Cascade, the People's Circus Collective, in Leningrad. This circus, composed

of young non-professionals, rehearses several times weekly and performs for soldiers, hospital patients and the public at large. The clowns Andrei Gavrilov and Alexander Tolkanov are reviving a satiric circus tradition that flourished before Stalin. Accompanying themselves on guitar and concertina, the partners comically pun about the Gorbachov era of *perestroika*, or "restructuring," as they sing about a boss who implements *perestroika* by rebuilding his own garage.

Like the rest of the arts, the circus and the theater suffered under earlier Soviet regimes. One circus clown suggested why there was previously

said that, to a Soviet bloc audience, Godot is true communism, which also never arrives.)

Adventurous returns: Innovative Soviet theater of the '20s, developed by the director Meyerhold, the poet Mayakovsky and others, has resurfaced in recent years, after disappearing during the reigns of Stalin through Brezhnev. In 1922 Meyerhold staged an unflattering portrait of bureaucrats, *The Death of Tarelkin*, and the play by Sukhovo-Kobylin has been revived at a small experimental studio in Moscow.

The new production's director, Belakovitch, said during intermission that the drama's depiction of

The lines in which Soviet citizens wait for consumer goods have no doubt increased public interest in Beckett's classic, *Waiting for Godot*, which recently had its first two professional Moscow productions.

little political humor in the ring when he told a story about a colleague who lost his job. In the early '80s a clown entered the circus ring looking tan and fit. Asked where he acquired his tan, he was supposed to answer that he had been drinking kvass outdoors in hot weather. Instead, he said he had been waiting in line for meat; the audience laughed, and the clown found himself sweeping floors for the next five months.

The lines in which Soviet citizens wait for scarce consumer goods have no doubt increased public interest in Samuel Beckett's vaudevilian classic *Waiting for Godot*, which had its first two professional Moscow productions in the past year.

In the play, two tramps banter about despair and wait for the mysterious Godot, who never arrives. (The Polish-born critic Jan Kott once

bureaucratic corruption is particularly timely now that Brezhnev's son-in-law is on trial for crimes comparable to the bribery and corruption shown in the play. The last two hours of the six-hour performance (the length, perhaps, compensating for years of no performance at all) visually relocates events in contemporary Russia by costuming the grotesque parade of victims, bribe-takers and police torturers in modern dress. This theater is rediscovering and celebrating its lost, avant-garde past.

In Leningrad, the highly regarded humorist Semyon Altov said that he has moved from satire to non-topical, more universal fiction in his recent writing, because newspaper reporters are now providing the public with the news of dissent that only satire could convey previously.

Altov became a public performer



out of necessity in the early '70s, when he read aloud anti-bureaucratic fables for which he could not secure a publisher. Underground circulation of his taped readings and eventual publication in the *Literary Gazette* increased his popularity—thousands now attend Altov's readings—and allowed him to earn a living from his performances.

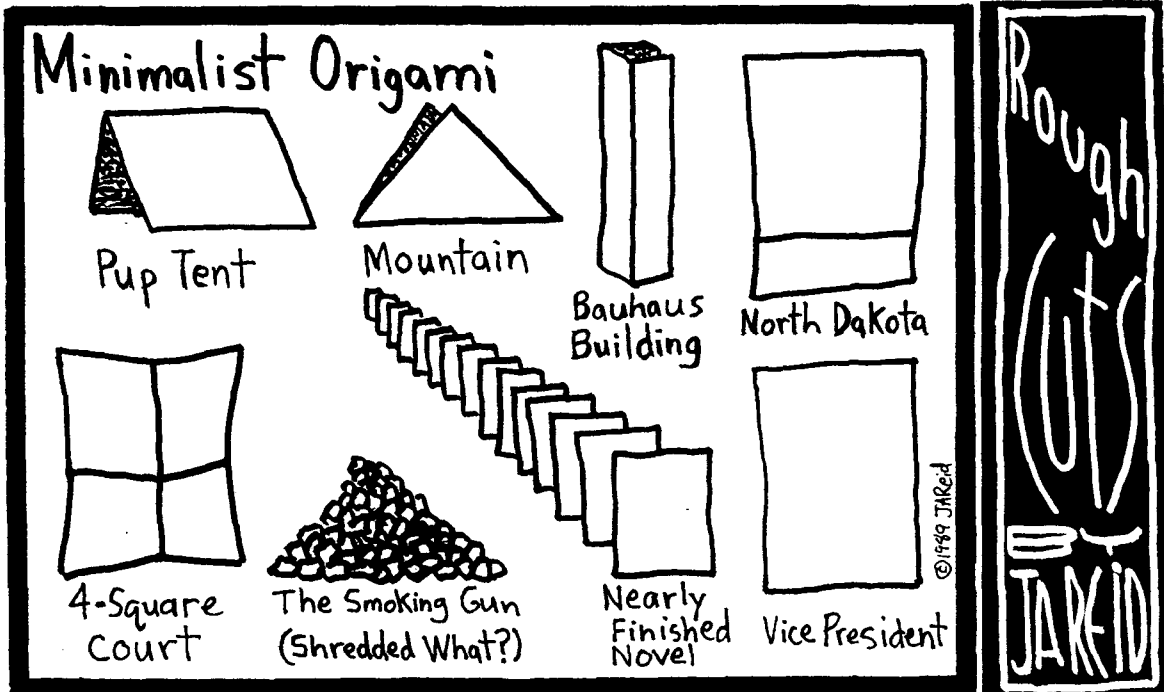
The strangest praise of *glasnost* I heard was a song, performed half in Polish, half in Russian, at the Theater Bouffe. In the middle of a comic cabaret show, a punk-looking chanteuse, wearing a white miniskirt, black blouse and one red star earring, sang about how everyone loves Mikhail Gorbachov in his red shirt. Altov remarked that the song's performance in Leningrad demonstrated "everything is possible in this country, including singing about *perestroika* in a miniskirt."

Another anecdote about circus humor provides a fitting metaphor

for the effect of *glasnost*. Last year when the Moscow Circus visited the U.S., its best clown act showed a trio of musicians destroying an orchestra, instrument by instrument. In Moscow a clown told me that act was first directed in 1952 by a Soviet trombone player, Dumas, who had been a prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp during World War II. As a prisoner the trombonist was forced to join a band in which any musician who made a mistake was shot. He survived the torture and now modestly calls it "excellent training."

Ironically, his famous clown act consists wholly of musicians making mistakes. Perhaps a similar process is occurring in Soviet theater and circus today, as past mistakes and repressed ideas are transformed into critical and celebratory art. ■

Joel Schechter is the editor of *Theater* magazine and teaches at the Yale School of Drama.



By Karen Rosenberg

Documentary chic: the *glasnost* vogue

WHEN YOU ASK SENIOR SOVIET filmmakers about the effects of *glasnost* on their medium, they are apt to start talking about younger colleagues not bent to conformity by years of censorship. Thus it may not be surprising that fully half the works in the Glasnost Film Festival, which is touring the U.S., are by directors in their 20s and 30s. Generally critical and topical, these 22 documentaries, most from the late 1980s, show that the Gorbachov era has already affected Soviet screens.

Short documentaries are among the first film genres to react to the changes sweeping Soviet society, because, like magazine and newspaper articles, they can be produced and distributed quickly. In the USSR, full-length feature films take an average of two and a half years to complete, and the first features conceived, written and directed in the *glasnost* period are just beginning to appear. So the films in this touring festival can probably be viewed as harbingers of features to come.

But they are also significant in their own right. For many years, the Soviet documentary was in decline, compromised by its subservience to the reigning ideology. The genre failed to attract many talented directors; 63-year-old Hertz Frank, whose

FILM

film about a murderer on death row plays in this series, is a notable exception. But with *glasnost*, the documentary is gaining not just attention, but respect.

Documenting renaissance: American documentary filmmaker Alyson Denny, who attended the first international non-feature film festival in Leningrad last January, discovered that documentaries are "in" now in the USSR. "People would say, 'Oh, you're a documentary filmmaker. How wonderful!'" Denny writes in the May issue of the U.S. monthly film and video magazine, *The Independent*. Producer-director Robert Stone, who also went to the festival, reports in the same magazine that Soviet documentary filmmakers are planning "to produce films with such titles as *Demon of the Revolution*, about Trotsky; *Near the Tyrants*, on Stalin and his pals; *Gulag Archipelago*, based on the book by the exiled Alexander Solzhenitsyn; *Chernobyl Is Near*, about that disaster and the global ecology; and a history of Russian monasteries."

There is reason to believe that these are not vain hopes. Among the once-taboo topics treated in the Glasnost Film Festival are widespread apathy and cynicism (*The Tailor*) and neo-fascist tendencies among some alienated youth (*This Is How We Live*). Archival footage revealed aspects of the past that were long kept hidden. The evils of Stalin and subsequent Stalinism is a major theme, as shown by *Black*



This Is How We Live, a documentary about neo-fascist tendencies in some Soviet youth, is part of the Glasnost Film Festival.

Square, on the repression of artists; *And the Past Seems but a Dream*, on the resettling in the '30s of entire population groups; *Marshal Blücher: A Portrait Against the Background of an Epoch*, on a so-called "enemy of the people"; and *The Trial: Part Two*, about the show trials of the '30s.

Of course government-sanctioned criticism of Soviet society began before *glasnost*. In the '70s, Soviet fiction writers sounded warnings about the environment, and the government itself has launched many campaigns against alcoholism. But concrete information about disasters, both natural and man-made, were kept under wraps. So Leonid Gurevich's *Scenes at a Fountain*, concerning an oil spill, represents a new kind of reporting in the USSR.

Cleaning the mirror: The importance of such documentaries to the health of Soviet society has been emphasized by writer/director Gurevich, vice president of the American-Soviet Kino-Initiative, the Soviet organization that sponsored the festival with the Citizen Exchange Council of New York. "It is impossible to make *perestroika* work if we don't have an accurate mirror of our society in front of us," he told American documentary filmmaker Lyn Goldfarb recently.

While many of the films in this festival are significant within the Soviet context, some chart new territory in international filmmaking as

well. Nadezhda Khvorova's *Are You Going to the Ball?* is a poignant exposé of Soviet gymnastics. Girls too young to make informed choices about their lives are shown to have been pushed by parents and coaches into training that damages their bodies and neglects their minds. Like some other Soviet documentaries, this one sidesteps a few issues. In this case, the unasked questions concern feminism, anorexia and other eating disorders, and the use of drugs among athletes.

But we in the West have also been loath to demystify the beautiful movements of lithe little girls. Critical books like Suzanne Gordon's *Off Balance: The Real World of Ballet* and Gelsey Kirkland's *Dancing on My Grave* are rare, and *60 Minutes* produced one of the few documentaries on ballet that goes beyond "Gee, isn't it lovely?"

At least as significant as the themes of the films in this festival is their style. The absence in many

Film has been compromised by subservience to the reigning ideology.

works of the traditional narrator with a voice of authority suggests that a number of Soviet filmmakers today want viewers to make up their

own minds about what they see. *The Evening Sacrifice*, by a much-hailed fiction film director, Alexander Sokurov, shows the resurgence of visual experimentation in Soviet filmmaking. According to Soviet critic Mikhail Yampolsky, television in the USSR now has more programs featuring on-location reportage, rock music or a "collage" format.

Chernobyl—not coming clean: Some of the films in the Glasnost Film Festival will seem so stylistically familiar here in the West that preachy phrases about dedicating oneself to the improvement of society stand out all the more clearly. Unfortunately, *Chernobyl: Chronicle of Difficult Weeks* is shot through with old-fashioned propagandistic platitudes. The man who heads a team that is supposed to restore the soil around Chernobyl to agricultural use is a state prizewinner, says the male narrator. But all the prizes in the world can't bridge the credibility gap in this film.

In fact, the Soviet Union has been reluctant to extend *glasnost* to the Chernobyl tragedy and its aftermath, and this news brownout has touched the cinema as well. *The Threshold* (1988), a Ukrainian documentary by Rolan Sergienko about the health effects of the nuclear accident, has had a curious fate in the USSR. It was approved for distribution by Goskino, the central Soviet film agency that, before *perestroika*, often shelved films or demanded cuts. The

documentary was shown out of competition at the Leningrad film festival in January, at the Soviet Filmmakers Union and elsewhere in the USSR. But recently screenings have been stopped. The *Wall Street Journal* reported on March 6 that this action was taken by "Ukrainian censors," but Ukrainian filmmaker Yuri Ilyenko, in the U.S. at the end of March, clarified that the powerful forces behind the ban are the ministries of public health, defense and energy and electrification. The film is accused of exhibiting an emotional bias and distorting facts. Apparently the most controversial scenes are those in which seriously ill people, who lived or worked in Chernobyl at the time of the accident, are interviewed in hospitals. The diagnoses on their medical charts indicate that they are suffering from the most ordinary ailments, not radiation-related conditions. So *The Threshold* is a film about more than Chernobyl; it concerns the continuation of old methods of hiding and doctoring information.

Let's hope that the next retrospective of Soviet documentaries will boast *The Threshold* among its offerings. The Soviet Filmmakers Union and Kiev's Dovzhenko Film Studio are reportedly arguing for its release. *Glasnost* cannot yet be celebrated—it must still be fought for.

Karen Rosenberg writes frequently on Soviet culture.

G.I. Joe

Continued from page 24

Dukakis lost so many votes when he decided to take a ride in a tank. Wearing a helmet that appeared too big for him, the grinning presidential candidate resembled nothing so much as a four-year-old seduced by a real-life version of Rolling Thunder.

Like Michael Dukakis, my four-year-old son wants Rolling Thunder, not G.I. Joe. When asked who would drive the thing, he pointed to his Ghostbusters and his Playmobile people. Perhaps this is because Joe has shrunk since he was first introduced, so that now he is a small figure whose face has the indistinct features of an everyman clone.

Unfortunately, the current opposition response to the Pentagon's G.I. Joe complex echoes my own answer to my son's request—it costs too much. For the moment

such an easy answer will do, but I, like America, am only postponing a much more serious discussion. Ever since Vietnam we have put off a far-reaching public debate of America's military mission. Conservatives and liberals both seem afraid to raise the issue. In the last campaign only Jesse Jackson tried to stimulate such a discussion, but his questions met mostly silence.

As Jackson kept pointing out, the American military's problems stem from a host of contradictory purposes: fighting brush-fire wars, deterring the Soviets, retaliating against terrorists and defending what we used to call "The Free World." These multiple missions reflect a larger uncertainty about American domestic and foreign policy. G.I. Joe has no such doubts. His mission has changed with the times—he now fights a terrorist conspiracy named COBRA.

My son also has a firm sense of his mission—besides dinosaurs, his major interest

is space. When pressed, he admits that the reason the Rolling Thunder attracts him is because of the missiles. Ironically, that is a line of reasoning that has long enjoyed favor with militarists who insist that money spent on exotic schemes such as Star Wars will have payoffs for the civilian sector. That defense, though, has been coming under increasing scrutiny as we watch the two nations we defeated in World War II pass us economically.

Last year, for the first time, the Japanese took out almost half the patents issued by the U.S. Patent Office. These inventions are heavily concentrated in semiconductors, pharmaceuticals, electronics and automobiles—once the heart of our economy. While we spend money perfecting Rolling Thunders, the Japanese are perfecting ceramic engines, supercomputers and superconductors.

Fortunately, although my son may be

seduced by Rolling Thunder, he seems to be keeping his perspective about the rest of G.I. Joe's arsenal. Much to his parents' relief, he has, so far, shown little interest in acquiring any other fancy weaponry. Maybe he is trying to tell us something. □

Ralph Brauer is a writer living in Minneapolis whose work has appeared in *The New York Times Magazine* and other publications.

Step Into New Worlds... ... with the improbable Readers International

Readers International
brings you today's
world literature.
Each hardcover volume,
by subscription,
is just \$8.45

(Regularly to \$16.95).

RI is Good Books—some of the world's best new writing, from South Africa, Nicaragua, China, the USSR, India, Lebanon, and elsewhere.

RI is a Good Cause—most RI titles have suffered censorship at home or were written in exile.

Improbable? RI is an independent press (with no connection to any mega-publisher) that searches out and brings to your doorstep the world's most gifted writers.

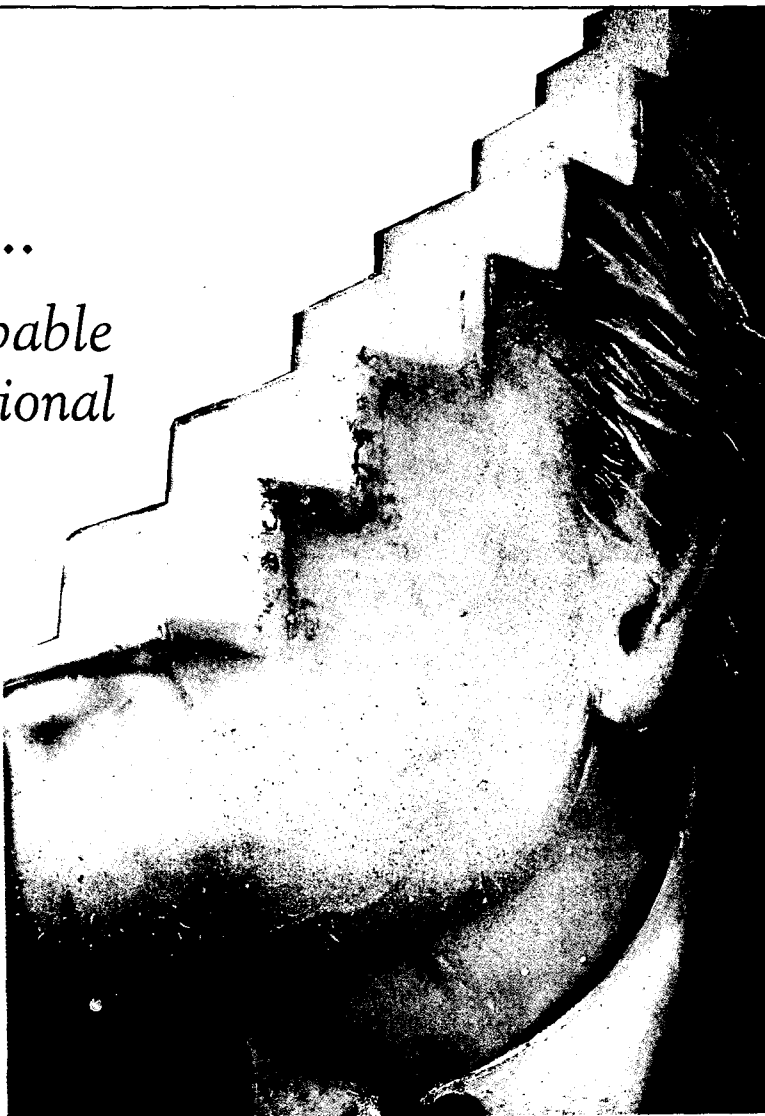
RI's editors select vital new voices from around the world. Improbable? RI introduced black South African Njabulo Ndebele. His *Fools*, says *USA Today*, "stands with Joyce's *Dubliners*." Now sold out but reprinted in paperback for this offer.

And the exiled Iranian Hadi Khorsandi, whose *The Ayatollah and I* delighted just about everybody but the mullahs. And the impertinent Ludvík Vaculík, author of *A Cup of Coffee with My Interrogator*, whom the *L.A. Times* called "the night watchman for the Czech national soul."

This is eye-opening, riveting reading. A must for readers with a keen interest in world affairs and good books.

How good? "With each new offering," says the *Washington Post*, "RI's list becomes more impressive." And RI's books are well-made: "RI's quality of production is first-class. Many wealthier publishers could learn from them." (London's *Guardian*)

The price is pretty improbable too: for just \$8.45 each, every other month you get a handsome, hardcover edition of our newest title.



Step into new worlds with RI, worlds seen more clearly, stories told more freshly than in any press or TV report. RI, says the *Financial Times*, is "a splendid and important enterprise and worth supporting."

Take that step now. You'll probably enjoy it.

RI READERS INTERNATIONAL
P O Box 959 Columbia, LA 71418

Please begin my subscription to RI at the \$8.45 subscriber price plus \$1.50 postage. Send RI's newest hardcover title at the same price every other month. At any time I may cancel simply by writing.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

ZIP _____

☐ \$9.95 (Can \$12.50) enclosed. Bill my ☐ Mastercard ☐ VISA

Card No. _____

Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Special Savings and a FREE Book: Prepay a year's subscription for six books, save 20% more, and get a free paperback copy of Ndebele's *FOOLS*.

☐ I enclose my check for \$48.00 (Can \$58).

☐ Bill my credit card for \$48 (US currency only).

CALENDAR

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

CHICAGO

April 14-May 20

"Hold the Line," a new play by Christine Sumption, opens April 14 and runs through May 20. Centers on McCarthy period and Cold War. For tickets and information, call (312) 769-5199. Zebra Crossing Theatre, 4520 N. Beacon. Tickets \$10.

NEW YORK

May 8-13

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL
MONDAY, MAY 8—U.S. Labor Foreign Policy in Latin America, 6 p.m.

TUESDAY, MAY 9—VIDEO: *Off Our Knees* by Bernadette Devlin, 8 p.m.

THURSDAY, MAY 11—Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism, Dennis King, 8 p.m.

SATURDAY, MAY 13—In Concert: The Fantods, \$6.

12th national Intensive Summer School. Monday, July 10-Friday, July 21. \$200. Limited scholarships available.

Events take place at the Brecht Forum, 79 Leonard St. (five blocks below Canal, between Church and Broadway). Unless otherwise listed, admission is \$5. For information call (212) 941-0332.

LOS ANGELES

June 14-19

"Siempre Adelante: Forever Forward," National Lawyers Guild annual convention towards carrying the fight for justice into the 1990s. Featured speakers include Angela Davis, Tony Mazzocchi, Frances Moore Lappe, Diane Watson, Larry Agran. Panels on dismantling the military-industrial complex, gangs, affordable housing and immigrants' rights. Over 30 workshops, receptions, L.A. murals tour, banquet, dance. Call (213) 937-3757 for brochure/info.

RICHMOND, VA

Weekly

Matrist meetings. FREE. Reservations required. Matrist is your KEY to a life that is Abundant, Fulfilling, Joyous! Your KEY to unlocking Life's Deepest, Darkest, Most Forbidden Secrets! Matrist is natural Mother-love. It's a wonderful experience. Organize your own Matrist meetings. Information. Dr. James Rogers, (804) 266-2611. 6103 Ellis Avenue.

PRO-CHOICE ? TELL OFF THE "ANTI'S" !

Keep YOUR
beliefs

out of
MY body !!!

Send \$3.00 check / m.o. for
five postcards or 10 "business cards"
to:

VALKYRIE ENTERPRISES
Box 417354
Chicago, IL 60641-7354

HELP WANTED

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible job opportunities. Subscribe to the only monthly nationwide listing, covering peace & justice, civil rights, unions, consumer advocacy, organizing, social work, and more. \$12 6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1029, 1516 P St. NW, Washington, DC 20005.

TEAMSTERS FOR A DEMOCRATIC UNION (TDU), the rank-and-file movement for reform in the Teamsters Union, needs ORGANIZER for major new democratic opening. Strong commitment to the labor movement a must. Salary low but negotiable. Benefits. Resume to TDU, Box 10128, Detroit, MI 48210, (313) 842-2600.

CANVASS DIRECTOR. Vermont PIRG. Motivated, well-organized individual able to work in hectic canvass atmosphere sought to direct statewide outreach campaign. Previous canvass management and directing experience preferred. Will direct three offices and 50 workers. Good salary and benefits. Send resume to: Daniel Barry, Development Director, VPIRG, 43 State St., Montpelier, VT 05602, (802) 223-5221. Good work, good fun.

UNION STAFF POSITION: Independent union seeking staffer to service Locals in eastern Iowa. Position includes contract enforcement, education, organizing, etc. Starting salary is \$20,000 per year plus expenses. Substantial benefits package also included. Staff presently unionized and in the process of negotiating a contract. If interested, send resume to Dan Kelly, Iowa United Professionals, 408 Guaranty Bank Building, Cedar Rapids, IA, (319) 364-8546. Please respond by May 26.

THE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES FEDERATION, AFL-CIO, representing over 50,000 professional, scientific and technical employees of the State of New York, is seeking to fill the position of ORGANIZER in its New York City office. Applicants must have 2-3 years' experience in public private sector organizing. Degree in Labor Industrial Relations or related field will

CLASSIFIEDS

be a plus. Duties would include organizing and coordinating internal membership campaigns and new member campaign organizing. Identifying, investigating, recommending and implementing a course of action in organizing groups of professionals into PEF. Assist in the ongoing development of the communication network between the Division and the PEF administration to insure and enhance the internal flow and exchange of information. Assist in the identification, recruitment, development and training of membership as needed in conjunction with the appropriate Director, field staff and local Division leadership. Salary \$30,000-35,000 per year based on experience and transportation allowance. Excellent employer-paid benefits. Resumes must be received by May 26, 1989. Contact: Barbara A. Telasky, Personnel Department, Public Employees Federation, AFL-CIO, 1168-79 Troy-Schenectady Road, P.O. Box 12414, Albany, NY 12212-2414. EOE AA M F V H.

PUBLICATIONS
THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months \$1. 1 year \$4. The People (ITT), P.O. Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

AMERICAN ATHEIST. For a sample copy of the magazine, send \$1 to: American Atheist, G.H.O., P.O. Box 140195, Austin, TX 78714-0195.

SUBSCRIBE TO MULTINATIONAL MONITOR. \$22 for a one-year individual subscription, \$41 for a two-year individual, and \$25 a year for non-profit institutions. Multinational Monitor, P.O. Box 19405, Washington, DC 20036.

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS. Since 1973, the only national newsweekly covering lesbian and gay life and liberation. Each week GCN brings you the liveliest mix of news, analysis and entertainment around, as well as a monthly Book Review Supplement and special issues on topics ranging from new gay male performers to lesbian safer sex. 1 year, \$33; 6 months, \$20. GCN Subscriptions, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

RADICAL TEACHER. A socialist and feminist journal on the theory and practice of teaching at all levels. Recent issues about: racism, women's studies, education in revolutionary societies, standardization. \$8 year. Radical Teacher, Dept. T, P.O. Box 102, Cambridge, MA 02142.

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL-\$5, Abeldard, Box 5652-J, Kent, WA 98064. (Details: SASE.)

VIDEO
LOCKED OUT! On June 15, 1984, 370 members of Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Local 4-620 were locked out of their jobs at the BASF Corp. chemical plant in Geismar, LA. This is their story of struggle ... for justice ... for safety ... for themselves and their neighbors. To order, write: LOCKED OUT!, OCAW, \$19.95. Produced by Organizing Media Project and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union 1988.

ABBIE HOFFMAN, 588 PRESENTATION. "Protest: 1960s-1980s" Video: \$18.95. Audio: \$6.95. Send to: R&R, 679 Main, Boxford, MA 01921.

BOOKS
EXTENSIVE LABOR HISTORY COLLECTION. Also Adult Education and Worker's Education. Scholarly, trade, many rare. Catalogue for \$1.50. LINDSAY AND ASSOCIATES, P.O. Box 4193, Chico, CA 95927-4193.

AGRARIAN REFORM IN REVOLUTIONARY NICARAGUA. Story of Nicaragua's successful land reform program. Stats, photos, 186 pgs., \$10.95. Collinsworth, Van. Earth Review Press: 9222 Lake Canyon Rd., Santee, CA 92071.

FUNDRAISER
HOW TO DO A WALKATHON fundraiser: Guaranteed moneymaker for your organization!! Raise \$5,000-\$20,000!! Send \$5.75 to Walkathon Fundraiser, 637 W. Broad St. #4, Nevada City, CA 95959.

TRAVEL
MEXICO. Spanish - Culture - Tours.

Escuela Azteca: Cuernavaca. Live with a Mexican family. Study with Professor Ross Gandy (Marx and History, Mexico 1910-1982). Simple Spanish, visual aids. Azteca, Mayas, Juarez, Mexican Revolution Tours of pyramids, revolutionary murals. \$170 each two weeks. Brochure: Escuela Azteca, Rio Usumacinta 710, Cuernavaca, Mexico. (73) 15-24-69.

EDUCATION
LEARN SPANISH IN GUATEMALA. Family living. CASA, Box 11264, Milwaukee, WI 53211, (414) 372-5570.

HEALTH
FINGERNAIL FUNGUS? Inexpensive, natural treatment. Money-back guarantee. \$10. HMC, Box 458-CL, Milltown, NJ 08850.

ORGANIZATIONS
BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: ITT, RD1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links left singles, nationwide. Free sample. P.O. Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

NATIONWIDE SINGLES PHOTO MAGAZINE. Send: name, address, age. Send no money. Exchange, 1817 Welton, #1580-BA, Denver, CO 80202.

THE MAN WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN A CAPITALIST...except he got caught... needs a letter. Please write: Patrick Earl, #20149-148, Box 1000-USP, Lewisburg, PA 17837.

ATTENTION
MOVING? Let IN THESE TIMES be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: In These Times, Circulation Dept., 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

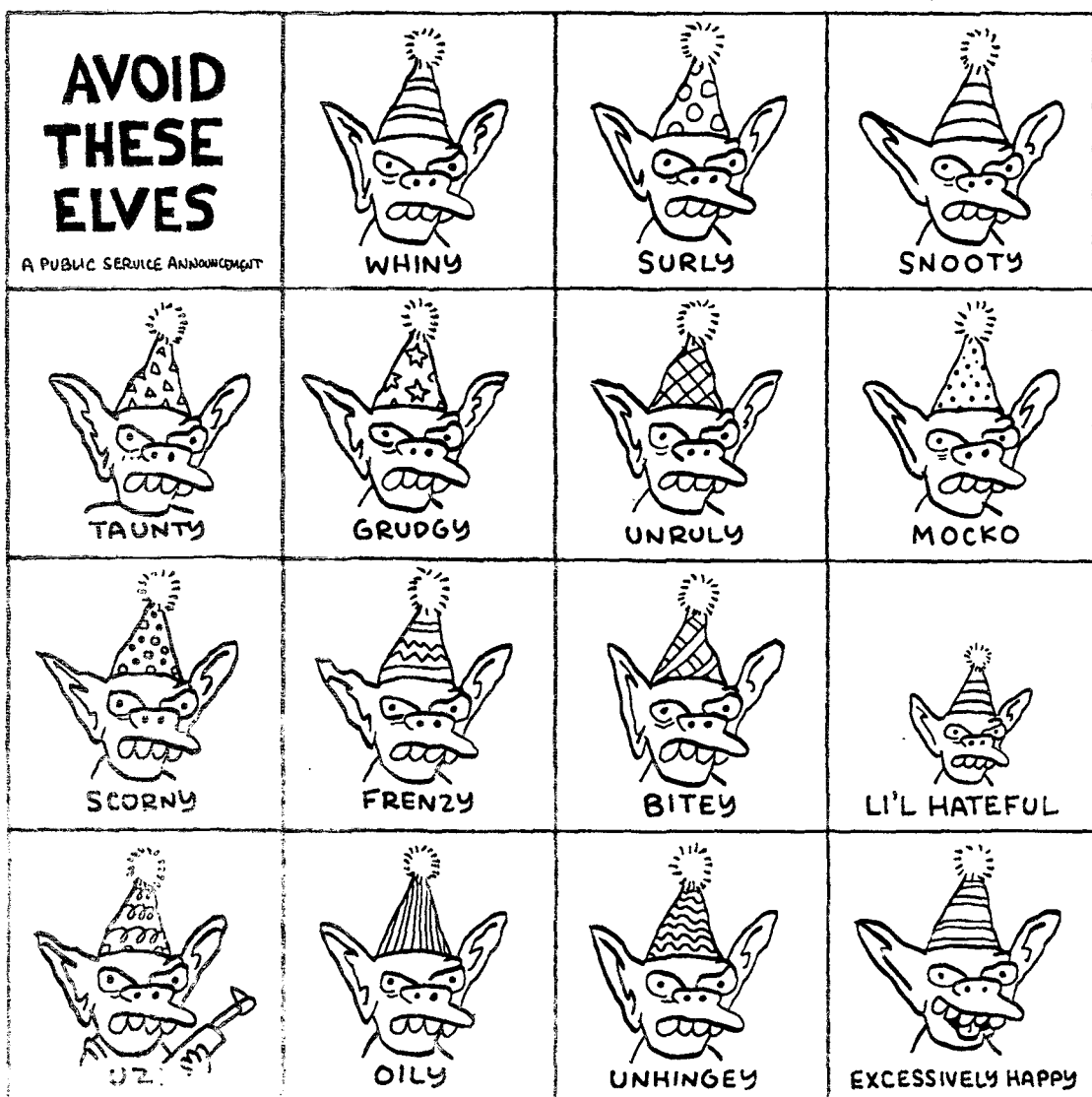
Fight Apartheid! Support Nicaragua!
Engineers, Technicians, Translators, Computer and Health Professionals, Mechanics, Skilled Tradespersons, Educators are urgently needed for both short and long term positions in Nicaragua and with the ANC SWAPO and Frontline States. For information, contact: Dept. 1 3254 Adeline Street, Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 655-3838

Postcards and T-Shirts for the Overqualified!
"AMERICA IS LIKE A MELTING POT—THE PEOPLE AT THE BOTTOM GET BURNED AND THE SCUM FLOATS TO THE TOP"
—Charlie King
"YOUR FRIDGE WILL LOVE US!"
Philosophy, psychology, cats, American Leftists (gulp!) and much more lampooned by Jennifer Berman.
For your almost free catalog of goodies, please send 75c in stamps to: Humerus Cartoons • Jennifer Berman P.O. Box 6614 • Evanston, IL • 60204-6614

LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

©1989 BY MATT GROENING



5-5-1989 ©1989 BY MATT GROENING. DISTRIBUTED BY KANE FEATURES SYNDICATE

FUN in HELL
Show Off Your Bad Attitude With A LIFE IN HELL T-SHIRT
Other Stunning Designs:
• SCHOOL IS HELL
• WORK IS HELL
• BOMBO
• I SWEAR TO GOD I DIDN'T DO IT
Send to: Life in Hell, 2219 Main St., Ste. E, Santa Monica, CA 90405. Include ad, indicating size & style. Allow 4-6 wks. delivery. Free catalog with order, or send \$1 and an S.A.S.C.

AGAINST THE CURRENT presents *Perspectives on Perestroika*: meanings of the reforms, human rights, Soviet Jews. Single copy \$3. Bimonthly. 1-year sub \$15. ATC • 7012 Michigan Ave. Detroit, MI 48210

Send EXXON a message.
Our T-Shirts are all cotton, white, with a red/blue design:
"We don't care, we don't have to care, we're Exxon, at Exxon, we're part of the problem."
Number of T-shirts you want in each size: S M L XL \$10⁰⁰ each
I My check for \$_____ is enclosed
Please bill me: ☐ Visa ☐ MC
Expiration date _____
Account No. _____
Signature _____
Please enclose your return address and send to: MULTINATIONAL MONITOR, P.O. BOX 19405 WASHINGTON, DC 20036

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.
Call toll-free 800-521-3044. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Grab Attention

Word Rates:	Display Inch Rates:
80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues	\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues	\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues
65¢ per word / 6-9 issues	\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues
60¢ per word / 10-19 issues	\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues	\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week[s].
Please indicate desired heading _____
Advertiser _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Send to: IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

L I T T L E J O E



Paul Comstock, Peter Haman

By Ralph Brauer

GI. JOE'S 25TH BIRTHDAY CAME ALMOST exactly the same day as my son's fourth. This coincidence was reinforced because the thing my son most coveted was Rolling Thunder—a piece of G.I. Joe hardware that looks like the Joint Chiefs' ultimate weapon. Riding on eight immense tires, Rolling Thunder boasts a large turret-mounted cannon, five rapid-fire, anti-aircraft guns and dozens of missiles. As if this weren't enough, inside sit two fat ICBMs, the transparent compartments on their sides emblazoned with the words—"Cluster Bombs."

When he first hit the scene in 1965, G.I. Joe was a clever marketing idea for a nation whose leaders touted Vietnam as a noble crusade. He was, in fact, a male Barbie doll marketed to make boys buy closets full of paraphernalia, just like their sisters. My son discovered Joe at his babysitter's, where the toy had once been the pride of her twenty-something son.

Blow-by-Joe account: Since his introduction as a commie-fighter, Joe has blown hot and cold, a weather vane for American attitudes about the military. During the Pentagon reductions of the Carter years, Joe, too, was cut back. In 1978 they even took him off the market. But with the coming of Reagan, Rambo and increased Pentagon budgets, mili-

tary toys came back in style. Today stores are full of G.I. Joes and imitators such as Galoob's Army Gear.

Commercials flooded the Saturday morning kiddie-cartoon ghetto, making Joe's ubiquitous presence difficult to resist. This renaissance allowed Joe to rack up \$200 million in sales last year. In a quarter century, Joe has generated more than \$1.2 billion for his manufacturer, Hasbro, and, in the process, become one of the all-time best-selling toys.

In the current debate over building expensive, high-tech weapons, G.I. Joe—like the military budget—comes down squarely on the side of gadgetry. (And with the recent proposed buyout of Hasbro by electronic-toy giant Coleco, the trend will likely intensify.) The fixation on machinery evidences a deeper problem that goes to the heart of current military policy. Behind Joe's fascination with devices like the Pulverizer, the D.E.M.O.N. and the Warthog (not to mention the Pentagon's array of less creative-

A striking violent: today's G.I. Joe is less than 4 inches tall.

ly named armaments) lies a belief that the key to keeping the peace comes not so much from having good people or a just cause, but from possessing the ultimate machine.

This G.I. Joe complex of putting weaponry over people represents a major shift in military ideology. In the last war we "won," it was G.I. Joe, not armaments, that commanded center stage. This dramatic difference can be seen by comparing current recruiting campaigns with those of almost half a century ago. World War II recruiters lured future G.I.s with appeals to patriotism and duty; today's television spots put fancy machines and promises of "job skills" in the forefront. During World War II stories from the front, newsreels and military propaganda saluted the "American fighting man." Correspondents such as Ernie Pyle made the average soldier a hero.

Heroic weapons: Today, in an era of bureaucratized chains of command and computerized warfare, we know the names of weapons such as the Stinger, B-1, Abrams tank and F-16, but do we know who controls them? Can you name a famous living soldier, midshipman, pilot or general? Anyone who knows all the Joint Chiefs is either in the military or unbeatable at Trivial Pursuit. Conflicts such as Vietnam and Grenada did not produce Audie Murphys or Sgt. Yorks, but they did spawn an overabundance of medals that demeaned the true value of heroism.

About the only well-known post-World War II military hero is test pilot Chuck Yeager, and his story is instructive. Yeager, the central figure in Tom Wolfe's *The Right Stuff*, is the maverick who first broke the sound barrier. Because he had cracked some ribs before his scheduled flight, he couldn't raise his arms to properly lock the cockpit door on the experimental X-1 aircraft. So he improvised a way to pull the cockpit door down with a broken broom handle and made the flight.

The man-over-machine theme has been sadly neglected in a military that, as the recruiting commercial says, "runs on technology." Today we feel diminished, even powerless, in front of the latest new piece of military hardware. Maybe that's why Michael

America's incredible shrinking toy soldier, G.I. Joe, might just be one great big metaphor.

Continued on page 22